This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

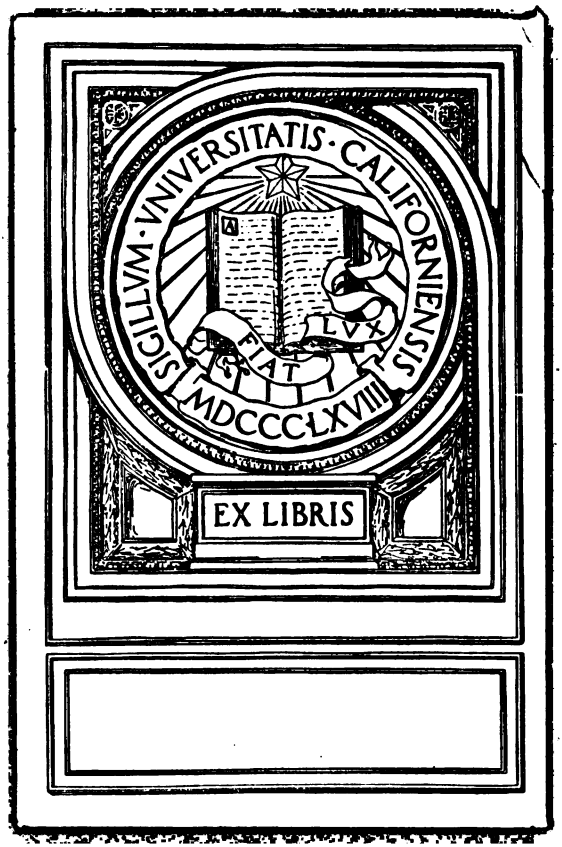
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`


SIGILLVM · VNIVERSITATIS · CALIFORNIENSIS
FIAT LVX
MDCCCLXVIII
EX LIBRIS

WORKS ISSUED BY

The Hakluyt Society.

EARLY VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

TO

RUSSIA AND PERSIA.

No. LXXII.

EARLY

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

TO

RUSSIA AND PERSIA

BY

ANTHONY JENKINSON

AND OTHER ENGLISHMEN.

WITH

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST INTERCOURSE OF THE ENGLISH WITH RUSSIA AND CENTRAL ASIA BY WAY OF THE CASPIAN SEA.

Edited by

E. DELMAR MORGAN,

MEMBER OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY;

AND

C. H. COOTE,

OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

M.DCCCLXXXVI.

G161
H2
v. 72

LONDON:
WHITING AND CO., SARDINIA STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS.

COUNCIL

OF

THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

COLONEL H. YULE, C.B., PRESIDENT.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., VICE-PRESIDENT.

W. A. TYSSEN AMHERST, ESQ., M.P.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A.

REAR-ADMIRAL LINDESAY BRINE.

E. H. BUNBURY, ESQ.

THE EARL OF DUCIE, F.R.S.

SIR BARROW ELLIS, K.C.S.I.

AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS, ESQ.

ALBERT GRAY, ESQ.

EDWARD HAILSTONE, ESQ.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR J. HENRY LEFROY, C.B., K.C.M.G.

R. H. MAJOR, ESQ., F.S.A.

CAPTAIN MARKHAM, R.N.

REAR-ADMIRAL MAYNE, C.B.

E. DELMAR MORGAN, ESQ.

ADMIRAL SIR ERASMUS OMMANNEY, C.B.

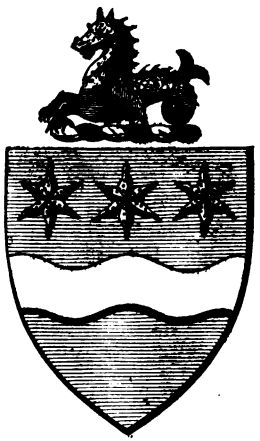
LORD ARTHUR RUSSELL.

THE LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.

LIEUT.-GEN. SIR HENRY THUILLIER, C.S.I., F.R.S.

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B., F.R.S., HONORARY SECRETARY.

107232



"And as touchyng Master Jenkynson, what trauayles, paynes, and daungers he hath susteyned and hardely escaped, and what diligence and art he hath vsed in the searching of strange countryes, and in the description of those his viagies, it were but in vayne for me to wryte much vnto you, vnto whom the same is better knowen then to me . . ."—Preface to Cortes' *Arte of Nauigation*, translated by RICHARD EDEN. London, 1561.

DEDICATION

TO

COLONEL HENRY YULE, C.B., R.E., ETC.,

PRESIDENT OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

DEAR COLONEL YULE,

Let me thank you for the honour you have done me in accepting the dedication of this volume. I regret that it is unworthy of so worthy a friend and counsellor as you have been to me. I am conscious that I have fallen far short of the model I had set myself to follow, yet I venture to hope that this endeavour to throw some light on the early geography of Russia and the adjacent countries may meet with your approval. Some mention will be found in the following pages of the early relations between that country and England. These are only incidentally touched upon as far as they concern Jenkinson and other Englishmen in Russia. But even these few reprints of early documents may be instructive and interesting at the present day, when the two nations, who began their intercourse in so friendly a way in the far north, stand face to face in Central Asia almost as foes, ready at any moment to engage in a contest to which none who wish well to the cause of civilisation and progress can look forward without dread.

I am, dear Colonel Yule,

Very faithfully yours,

E. DELMAR MORGAN.

PREFACE.

A FEW words of personal explanation are necessary. When this work was undertaken, it was a new and difficult task to one who had done so little in literature, and who had been preceded by such learned geographers as the editors of previous volumes of this Society. It was, therefore, with much satisfaction that I made the acquaintance of so able a coadjutor as Mr. Coote, who consented at my request to share the editorial labours. As the work slowly advanced, however, he found that his other engagements would not allow of his bestowing much time on it, and he finally asked to be released altogether from his engagement, particularly as differences of opinion on various points connected with the notes and editing made themselves felt. Unwilling that he should be deprived of any credit due to his work, I begged him to let his name stand with mine on the title page, while I finished the book. The introduction is, therefore, due to my pen, and I am responsible for any of its shortcomings.

I take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to the Marquis of Salisbury, who kindly allowed me to consult the MSS. in his collection; and to his secretary, Mr. Gunton, who transcribed one of these for me; to Lord Tollemache, for his courtesy in giving me access to the Helmingham Hall Library, and for the obliging loan of a MS. of Jenkinson's journey to Persia; to Mr. Nicholson, librarian of the Bodleian; to the late Mr. Bradshaw, librarian

of the Cambridge University Library, for obtaining transcriptions of documents; to Mr. Selby and the officials at the Record Office, for their obliging help in my searches; to the authorities at the British Museum, for allowing photographs to be taken of two maps reproduced in this volume, and to the assistants in the Reading Room and Map Department, for their readiness at all times to find the books, etc., I required; to Mr. Cecil G. S. Foljambe, M.P., for kindly answering queries with reference to the Jenkinson family—this acknowledgment must be coupled with the expression of regret that no connection could be traced between his family and that of the traveller, confirmatory of a tradition preserved in the former; to the Rev. Robert Baillie, rector of Sywell, for his kind assistance in searching the registers in his church and making inquiries; to the Rev. Cavendish Neely, son of the rector of Ashton; to the Rev. A. R. Newby, rector of Teigh; to Mr. Lionel Bonar, late secretary of the Russia Company; to Mr. John Watney, secretary of the Mercers' Company, and others.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Dedication, Preface, List of Illustrations, Table of Contents	
Introduction - - - - - - -	i
Supplementary Notes - - - - - -	clv
The manner of the entring of Solyman the Great Turke with his armie into Aleppo in Syria . . . noted by Master Anthonie Ienkinson, present at that time - - - -	1
The safe conduct or priuilege, giuen by Sultan Solyman the Great Turke, to Master Anthony Ienkinson, at Aleppo in Syria, in the yeere 1553 - - - - -	5
Instructions giuen to the Masters and Mariners to be obserued in and about this Fleete, passing this yeere 1557, towards the Bay of S. Nicholas in Russia . . . - - - -	7
The first voyage made by Master Anthony Ienkinson from the Citie of London, toward the land of Russia, begonne the twelfth day of Maye, in the yeere 1557 - - - -	11
The voyage of M. Anthony Ienkinson, made from the citie of Mosco in Russia, to the citie of Boghar in Bactria, in the yere 1558. . . - - - - - -	41
The latitudes of certaine principall places in Russia and other Regions - - - - - - -	100
Certaine notes gathered by Richard Iohnson (which was at Boghar with Master Anthony Ienkinson) of the reports of Russes and other straungers, of the wayes of Russia to Cathaya and of diuers and straunge people - - - -	101
Here follow certaine countreys of the Samoeds which dwell vpon the riuer Ob, and vpon the sea coasts beyond the same	105
The relation of Chaggi Memet, a Persia merchant, to Baptista Ramusius . . . - - - - - -	106
A letter of Master Anthonie Ienkinson vpon his returne from Boghar . . . written in the Mosco the 18. of September 1559	107

The Queenes Maiesties letters to the Emperour of Russia, requesting license and safe conduct for Master Anthony Ienkinson . . . - - - - - - 109

The Queenes Maiesties letters to the Great Sophie of Persia, sent by Master Anthony Ienkinson - - - - 112

A remembrance giuen by vs the Gouernours, Consuls, and Assistants of the Companie of Marchants trading into Russia, the eight day of May 1561. to our trustie friende Anthonie Jenkinson . . . - - - - - - 114

A compendious and briefe declaration of the iourney of M. Anthonie Ienkinson from the famous citie of London into the lande of Persia . . . Being begunne the foureteenth day of May, Ann. 1561 . . . - - - - - - 121

A copie of the priuiledges giuen by Obdolowcan, King of Hircania, to the Companie of English Merchants Aduenturers . . . obtained by M. Anthonie Ienkinson . . . April 14. Anno 1563 - - - - - - 157

Anthony Jenkinson's petition to the Queen - - 159

Documents relating to Jenkinson's service off the coast of Scotland in the Queen's ship the *Ayde* - - - - - 167

Renewal of petitions by Jenkinson and Sir H. Gilbert relating to discovery towards Cathay - - - - - 177

Certaine reasons alledged for the prooving of a passage by the Northeast . . . with my seueral answeres then vsed to the same - - - - - - - 180

Anthony Ienkinson, Instructions sent by the merchants aduenturers into Russia to the Emperor there - - 183

Anthony Ienkinson to Sir W. Cecil - - - 186

A very briefe remembrance of a voyage made by M. Anthony Ienkinson from London to Moscouia . . . . in the yeere 1566 - - - - - - - 189

The way discouered by vs, Thomas Southam and Iohn Sparke, from the towne of Colmogro vnto the citie of Nouogrode . . . 190

The Merchant Adventurers of England, &c., to their Agents in Russia. London, 18th April 1567 - - - 206

The note and stinte of one yeares apparell for an apprentyse in Russia or Persia, &c. - - - - - 226

The Priuileges granted by the Emperour of Russia to the English merchants of that company: obteined the 22. of September, anno 1567, by M. Anthony Ienkinson - - - 228

A message vnto the quenes excellent Maiestie from th'Emperor his highnes of Moscouia, to be doone in secrett vnto her highnes by me her graces seruant, A. Ienkinson - - - 236

Instructions for Tho. Randolph, esquier, . . . being sent in Ambassad to the Emperor of Russia - - - - 240

The Ambassage of the right worshipfull M. Thomas Randolfe, esquire, to the Emperour of Russia, in the yeere 1568. Briefly written by himselfe - - - - - 243

A commission giuen by vs, Th. Randolph . . . and Th. Bannister, etc., vnto James Bassendine, James Woodcocke and Rich. Browne . . . for searching of the sea and border of the coast from the riuer Pechora to the Eastwardes . . . Ann. 1588 [1568], the first of August - - - - - 251

Necessarie notes to be obserued and followed in your discouerie . . . [By William Burrough] - - - - - 254

Thomas Randolph to Sir W. Cecil - - - - 256

Thomas Bannister & Geoffrey Ducket to Sir W. Cecil - - - 258

Thomas Bannister & Geoffrey Ducket to the Muscovy Co. - 261

A Copie of the priuiledges graunted by the right high and mightie Prince, the Emperour of Russia, &c.: vnto the right worshipful felowship of English Marchants . . . in the yeere of our Lord God 1569 - - - - - 265

The greate causes of offence giuen to the English Ambassador, Thomas Randolph . . . - - - - - 277

The Tsar Ivan to Queen Elizabeth, 20th June 1569 - - 280

Maister Thomas Bannester and Maister Duckett to the Counsail - 283

The Ambassadors [Savin's] Request to the Right Honorable Maister Secretarie - - - - - - 285

Serten instroksyons geven me [Anthony Jenkinson] . . . - 286

Elizabeth to Ivan, 18th May 1570 - - - 287

The Coppie of the Queens Maiesties Letter to the Emperour of Russia, Maii 1570 - - - - - - 290

The Coppie of the Moscouitts Lettre in English, brought by Danyell Syluester, 24. Octobris 1570 - - - 292

Elizabeth to Ivan, May or June 1571 - - - - 297

Ivan to Elizabeth, August 1571 - - - - 299

Elizabeth to Ivan, 20th October 1572 - - - 303

A note of the proceeding of M. Anthonie Ienkinson, Ambassadour from the Queenes most excellent Maiestie to the Emperour of Russia . . . from the time of his arriual in Russia, being the 26. of Iuly 1571, vntill his departure from thence, the 23. of Iuly 1572 - - - - - 306

Anthony Ienkinson to Lord Burghley, 8. August 1571 - 335

The burning of Moscow, by John Stow - - - 338

The names of such countries as I, Anthonie Ienkinson, haue trauelled vnto from the second of October 1546, at which time I made my first voiage out of England, vntill the yeere of our Lord 1572, when I returned last out of Russia - - 341

Instructions giuen to Master D. Rogers and Master Ienkinson, being sent to Embden to treate with the Kinge of Denmarks commissioners - - - - - 344

The order of Her Maiesties proceedings from tyme to tyme with ye Kinge of Denmarke, touching the Norway nauigation - 349

APPENDIX.

I. The voyage wherein Osepp Napea, the Moscouite Ambassadour, returned home into his Countrey, with his entertainment at his arriual at Colmogro; and a large description of the manners of the Countrey - - - 355

II. The second voyage into Persia made by Thomas Alcocke, which was slayne there, and by Richard Cheinie, seruant to the worshipfull companie of Moscouie merchants in An. 1563. Written by the said Richard Cheinie - - 378

III. The thirde voyage into Persia, begun in the yeere 1565, by Richard Iohnson, Alexander Kitchin, and Arthur Edwards. A letter of Arthur Edwards to Master Thomas Nichols, concerning the preparation of their voyage into Persia - - - - - - 382

IV. An other letter of the said Master Arthur Edwards, written the 26. of April 1566. in Shamakie, in Media, to the right worshipfull Sir Thomas Lodge, touching the successe of Richard Iohnson in the thirde voyage into Persia - 384

v. A letter of Master Arthur Edwards, written the 8. of August 1566. from the towne of Shamakie in Media, to the right worshipfull the Governours, Consuls, Assistants, and generalitie of the Companie of Russia . . . - - 393

vi. Another letter of Arthur Edwards, written in Astracan, the 16 of June 1567, at his returne in the first voyage out of Persia, to the right worshipfull companie trading into Russia, Persia, and other the North and Northeast partes 403

vii. The fourth voyage into Persia made by M. Arthur Edwards, agent, John Sparke, Laurence Chapman, Christopher Faucet, and Richard Pingle, in the yeere 1568 - - 407

viii. Notes concerning this fourth voyage into Persia, begunne in the monthe of Iulie 1568 . . . - - - 415

The articles of the second priuiledge deliuered to Laurence Chapman . . . - - - - 418

The maner how the Christians become Busormen and forsake their religion - - - - 420

Of the tree which beareth Bombasine cotton or Gossampine - - - - - 421

The writing of the Persians - - - 422

ix. The first voyage into Persia made by Master Thomas Bannister and Master Jeffrey Ducket, agents for the Moscouie Companie; begun from England in the yeere 1568, and continuing to the yeere 1574 following - - 423

Further obseruations concerning the state of Persia, taken in the foresayd fift voyage into those partes, and written by Master Jeffrey Ducket, one of the agents employed in the same - - - - 432

x. Aduertisements and reports of the sixt voyage into the partes of Persia and Media, for the company of English merchants, for the discouery of new trades, in the yeeres 1579, 1580, and 1581, gathered out of sundry letters written by Christopher Burrough, seruant to the said Company, and sent to his vncle, Master William Burrough - 441

xi. Obseruations of the Latitudes and Meridian Altitudes of diuers places in Russia - - - - 474

INDEX - - - - - - 479

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

PORTRAIT OF THE TSAR IVAN (IV) VASSILIVITCH (*Reduced by photography from the original wood engraving in the possession of Senator Rovinsky*) - - To face title

SEAL OF THE RUSSIA COMPANY (*reproduced by photography*) - lvi

ARMS OF ANTHONY JENKINSON (*after a MS. in the Harleian Collection at the British Museum*) - - - - cii

FACSIMILE OF MAP OF RUSSIA BY ANTHONY JENKINSON (*reproduced by photography from the one in Ortelius' Atlas in the British Museum*) - - - - - cxx

SKETCH MAP, SHOWING ANTHONY JENKINSON'S ROUTE - 41

VOL. II.

SKETCH MAP, SHOWING THE ROUTE OF SOUTHAM AND SPARKE - 190

CHART OF NORTHERN NAVIGATION, BY WILLIAM BURROUGH (*photographed from the original MS. in the Royal Library, British Museum*) - - - - - 254

FACSIMILE AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF ANTHONY JENKINSON TO WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY (*photographed from the original MS. at the State Paper Office*) - - - 335

INTRODUCTION.

THERE are few subjects more interesting to the student of history, to the politician, and to the merchant, than the first opening of an intercourse between two nations. That between England and Russia dates back more than three centuries, and may almost be said to have begun with the appearance, in the sixteenth century, of Anthony Jenkinson, ambassador of Queen Elizabeth, and agent of the Russia or Muscovy Company between the years 1557-72.

Before giving a sketch of his travels and services as they have been preserved to us by Hakluyt and in State documents, let us briefly glance at the still earlier voyages of Richard Chancellor. To Chancellor undoubtedly belongs the credit of laying the foundation of that commerce which became of such vast importance to both England and Russia, and has attained in our day so great a development. The story of his discovery of the White Sea, though often told, is yet so full of romantic interest, and so worthy to rank in the annals of his country, that it will bear repeating. After being parted from Sir Hugh Willoughby in a storm off the coast of Norway, he directed his course in his ship, the *Edward Bonaventure*, to Vardö, the rendezvous appointed in

case of a separation. Here he waited several days, in the hope of being joined by his companions, but disappointed in this, he again set sail, determined to carry out to the best of his ability his instructions, and

"helde on his course towardes that vnknowen part of the world, and sailed so farre that hee came at last to the place where he found no night at all, but a continuall light and brightnesse of the Sunne shining clearly vpon the huge and mighty Sea" (*Hakl.*, 1589, p. 283).

At length he entered the White Sea, then called the Bay of St. Nicholas, and anchored at the little port of Nenoksa, near the mouth of the Dwina. He learnt from some natives that the country he had reached was called Russia, or Muscovy, and that Ivan Vassilivitch was their king.

"And the barbarous Russes asked likewise of our men whence they were and what they came for: whereunto answer was made, that they were Englishmen sent into those coastes from the most excellent King Edward the sixt." (*Hakl.*, 1589, p. 284.)

Chancellor proceeded to Mosco, where he was well received by the Tsar, who dismissed him the following year with return letters to King Edward, informing him that his subjects might safely visit Russia and freely trade there. Edward VI had died before Chancellor returned to England, but his successor, Queen Mary, showed a desire to promote this new-found trade with Russia. In the first and second years of her reign (1555-6), a charter was granted to the Merchant Adventurers, henceforward known as

the Muscovy or Russia Company, by which were secured to them in their corporate capacity all the rights and privileges they had acquired, or might in the future acquire, by their enterprise and discoveries. That year a second expedition was sent to Russia, under the same Richard Chancellor, accompanied by two agents, George Killingworth and Richard Gray, with full instructions to treat with the Tsar's counsellors for the establishment of a trade in his dominions; they were, moreover, not to lose sight of the original object of their first voyage, "that you vse all wayes and meanes possible to learne how men may passe from Russia either by land or by sea to Cathaia." Complete success rewarded these efforts. The Englishmen were received in the most gracious way by the Tsar, conferences were held at Mosco between them and certain officers and merchants of the Tsar, and arrangements concluded for a commercial intercourse on the most favourable terms. The English were to have the monopoly of trade in the White Sea, and establish their factories or houses of business at Kholmogori, Vologhda, and elsewhere. "And thus may we continue three or foure yeeres", writes Killingworth to the Company, "and in this space we shall know the countrey and the merchants, and which way to saue ourselues best, and where to plant our houses, and where to seeke for wares" (*Hakl.*, 1589, p. 301).

Chancellor set sail for England on the 20th July 1556, with four ships, including the two that were

missing in the first voyage, and afterwards recovered, the *Bona Speranza* and *Bona Confidentia.* In his own ship, the *Edward Bonaventure,* he took Osep Napea, the first Russian ambassador to the English court, with his suite, and valuable furs and merchandise to the amount of £20,000 (now £100,000). The voyage home proved disastrous. Two of the ships, the *Bona Speranza* and *Bona Confidentia,* were never heard of again; the *Edward Bonaventure,* after being four months at sea, at length arrived off the coast of Scotland, only to be wrecked in November, in Pitsligo Bay, with the loss of many of the crew, seven Russians, and the gallant Chancellor himself, Osep Napea being one of the few survivors.

Though so many brave men had perished, the arrival of the first Russian ambassador caused general rejoicing.

"About this time (1556-7) came to London an ambassador to the Queene from the Emperor of Cathaie, Muscouia, and Russeland, who was honorablie receiued at Totenham by the merchants of London, hauing trade in those countries, riding in veluet coates and chaines of gold, who bare all his costs and charges from the time of his entrie into England out of Scotland, for thither by tempest of weather he was driuen, and there forced to land. The Lord Montacute, with the Queens pensioners, met him at Islington townes end; and at Smithfield barres the lord maior and aldermen in scarlet receiued him and conueied him through the citie vnto maister Dimmocks howse in Fanchurch street, where he lodged vntil the twelfe of Maie, all which time he wanted no resort. And after his ambassage done to the Queene he departed againe with three [four] faire ships from Gravesend vnto his countrie, when he had remained here two moneths and more."—*Holinshed's Chronicle,* p. 1132.

With the departure of Napea from Gravesend, escorted by Anthony Jenkinson, we take up the story of the intercourse between England and Russia, leaving much that is interesting in the earlier voyages of Chancellor and Stephen Burrough, and their accounts of Russia, perhaps for a future volume of the Hakluyt Society. Of Jenkinson's earlier travels, of which we print his summary at the end of this volume, the only details accessible are those contained in Hakluyt's second edition, giving an account of Solyman's entry into Aleppo in 1553, at which he was present. There can be no doubt that the experience gained by him on these distant travels was of great service, and helped to fit him for the long and perilous journeys he subsequently undertook; and that his extensive acquaintance with the people and manners of other countries prepared him for the delicate missions he successfully carried out in Russia and the adjacent countries of Central Asia. He was, too, a skilful navigator, and understood surveying, as far as it was known in the sixteenth century; for his observations for latitude, though showing in some instances considerable errors, are wonderfully correct, if it be duly remembered how rude were the instruments then used. Such qualifications amply justified the Company in appointing him to the command of their expedition to Russia in 1557. This was composed of four ships, of which the *Noble Primrose*[1] was admiral, and in-

[1] The *Primrose* was launched at Deptford on the 6th July 1551, in the presence of King Edward, in whose journal there is

structions were given that the other three should keep her company. Having already tried the Russian trade, the Company now made their first large shipment of cloth and other English commodities, such as cotton stuffs, pewter, sugar, etc., and sent artizans to set up a rope-walk at Kholmogori. They also sent ten young men as apprentices to learn the trade, and acquire a knowledge of the country.[1] Osep Napea was furnished with letters from Philip and Mary to Ivan IV, on the subject of his mission, in which they express the hope that there would be a perpetual amity between the two nations, and that he would declare the full particulars of the commercial treaty it was proposed to conclude.[2]

The fleet set sail from Gravesend on the 12th May, but, delayed by accidents and contrary winds, did not sight the coast of Norway till the 25th of June, when they discovered Helge land lying north-east of them. On the 27th they were off the Lofoden Islands. Continuing their voyage without further mishap, they rounded the North Cape on the 2nd July, and the following day touched at Vardö. Hence their course lay south-east, close

an entry concerning it. This ship was originally intended for the Royal Navy, but was lent by the King to Alderman Barnes and Sir William Gerrard for their venture to the coast of Guinea, for which she sailed from Portsmouth on the 12th August 1553. The enterprise to Guinea failed, owing to Captain Wyndham's misconduct.

[1] *Hakl.*, 1599, i, p. 299.

[2] *Cal. S. P.*, For. Mary, 1557, No. 595.

along the coast of Lapland, or Lappia, as our author calls it, passing Varanger fiord, or, as it was then known, Dommeshaff,[1] and Arzina, or Nokuyef bay, where the gallant Sir Hugh Willoughby and his crews had perished in the winter of 1553-4. They doubled Sviatoi Noss, that remarkable promontory to which the early navigators made offerings of "butter, meale, and other victuals", and which Stephen Burrough named Cape Gallant; and standing over to the opposite shore of the entrance to the White Sea, safely anchored in St. Nicholas road on the 12th July, having sailed from London, according to their reckoning, 750 leagues, or 2,250 miles.

The Russian ambassador and the Englishmen who had come to serve the Emperor at once landed, and, after all their things were on shore, proceeded by boats up the Dwina. Jenkinson remained to superintend the discharging of the ships, their reloading and departure for England. Then he also started for Kholmogori, thence to Vologhda by water, and from the latter place to Mosco by land. Before following him in his travels into Asia, it seems necessary to say something of the state of Russia at this time, and of its ruler, Ivan Vassilivitch IV, surnamed Grosny, or the Terrible.

From 1235 to 1478 Russia groaned under the

1 Dommeshaff, probably so named after King Dummer, whose rule extended to this part of the coast. *Cf.* Stückenberg, *Hydrographie*, bd. ii, p. 3. This derivation, however, may be compared with that given below, p. 19.

Tartar yoke. Wild hordes of Mongols, under Batu, Timur, and Yedighei, swept across its level plains, burning and destroying every vestige of civilisation, and stamping out that love of self-government which was characteristic of early Russian society. For nearly three centuries Tartar Khans received tribute at Sarai, their capital on the lower Volga, from the Russian princes; and though desperate attempts were made to shake off the yoke of the oppressors—as when Dmitri, surnamed Donskoi (of the Don), fought and defeated the host of Mamai on the field of Kulikof—the chains which held the people down were only riveted more closely. Their relief was only accomplished towards the close of the 15th century, when dissensions among the Tartars themselves had prepared the way for the liberation of Russia. This was accomplished by Ivan III (1462-1505), surnamed "the Great". He united the various principalities into which Russia was divided, into one State, the Grand Duchy of Mosco; put an end to the dissensions of the princes, and in this way gave Russia strength to shake off the Tartar. Ivan III introduced the arts of civilisation into his country, and brought architects from Italy to embellish his capital. The walls and towers of the Kremlin attest at the present day the early influence of Italian art in the ancient city of the Tsars. The wise and firm policy of Ivan III was continued by his son and successor, Vassili III (1505-33), and his grandson Ivan IV (1533-84). During the reign of the former, Herberstein twice

visited Moscovy as ambassador from the Emperor of Germany, and wrote his interesting book, *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii*,[1] many editions of which appeared in the 16th century.

In 1546, Ivan IV was crowned at Mosco, taking the title of Tsar, first borne by Ivan III, as well as that of Grand Duke. His marriage with Anastasia Zakharin, solemnised shortly afterwards, promised to inaugurate a period of peace and prosperity for Russia. "Our enemies", wrote the annalists, "infidel Tsars and impious Kings, dared no longer trouble the peace of Russia, and Ivan raised himself to the highest rank among them."[2] In 1552, one year before the opening of intercourse with England, the Tartar fortress of Kazan fell; and this event, followed two years later by the capture of Astrakhan, made the Volga throughout its entire course a Russian river. The immediate consequence of these victories was to secure the eastern frontiers of Russia, and to enable the Tsar to turn his arms against the Western States of Poland, Livonia, and Sweden. Against these enemies of Russia his success was only temporary, for the numbers and bravery of his soldiers could not prevail against their superior discipline and artillery. At first, however, in his campaign against Sweden, he carried the war into the enemy's country, and compelled Gustavus Vasa

[1] See *Notes upon Russia*, edited by Major (Hakl. Soc.). Dr. Hamel is probably right in his conjecture that an Italian translation of Herberstein's work, published at Venice in 1550, had been accessible to Sebastian Cabot.—*England and Russia*, p. 113.

[2] *Karamsin*, viii, 64.

to sue for peace. His armies devastated Livonia, and laid its flourishing cities in ashes, humbling the pride and breaking the power of the Teutonic Knights. In 1558 the fall of Narva opened the much coveted way to the Baltic, and gave Russia her first port on the West. Ivan was now at the height of his power. He had conquered all his enemies, remodelled the internal administration of his empire, introduced printing, and established the *Strelzi*, the first standing army in Russia. But a remarkable change came over him about this time, connected in some way with the death of his wife, attributed by him to poison. He disgraced Sylvester and Adasheff, the wise counsellors under whose influence he had ruled so well, and abandoned himself to his passions. These, as a recent author (Count Yuri Tolstoi) has remarked, "inscribed his reign in blood in the annals of Russia." "It is vain," says this writer, "to assign periods to his executions; in one continual torrent of blood they deluged the last twenty years of his reign, sometimes relaxing, but never interrupting their stormy course."[1] His victims were among the best and most distinguished of his subjects; among them were many who had served him long and faithfully in peace and war. He spared neither young nor old, neither man nor woman. Three centuries have not effaced from the memory of the Russian people the revolting cruelties of this monster. "Many are the lays", says Mr. Morfill, in his *Slavonic Literature* (p. 51), "treating of Ivan the

[1] *England and Russia*, p. xix.

Terrible, and the instrument of his cruelties, Maliuta Skurlatovitch, who stood in the same relation to him as Tristan l'Hermite did to Louis IX of France, being his intimate associate and the instigator of many of his cruelties."

Following the example of Henry VIII, Ivan had six wives. By the first, Anastasia, he had three sons and three daughters, only one of whom survived him, viz., Feodor, his successor. In 1561 he married Mary, the daughter of Prince Temgruk of Circassia, by whom he had a son, who only lived five weeks. Mary died in September 1569, and on the 28th October 1571 he married Martha Sabakina, daughter of a merchant in Novgorod, chosen for her beauty out of two thousand young girls collected from all parts of the empire. She died of consumption on the 13th November of the same year. In 1572 he married Anna Koltovskoy, and repudiated her in 1577, placing her in a monastery. His fifth wife was Anna Vassilchikof, who died very soon. Her place was taken by a widow of the name of Vassilissa Melentief, distinguished for her beauty, to live with whom he did not go through a religious ceremony, but merely contented himself with a benediction from his confessor. His sixth wife was Mary, daughter of Feodor Nagai, a dignitary of the Court. She was the mother of the unfortunate Dmitri, innocent cause of innumerable woes to Russia.

It is generally known that Ivan solicited the hand of Queen Elizabeth, and it is most likely that

his first overtures in this direction were made through Jenkinson. Of this there is no positive proof, though it is not improbable that the secret message entrusted to him by the Tsar in 1567 had reference to a marriage; Randolph, Bannister, and Ducket, in their letters to Cecil and the Muscovy Company, hint that this may have been the case, and that the Emperor was angry at having received no answer. In 1581, Ivan sent Pissemsky to England to treat of a marriage with Lady Mary Hastings, niece of the Queen; and this was the subject of his secret conferences with Sir Jerome Bowes in 1583.[1]

Ivan died on the 18th March 1584, having reigned fifty-one years. In person he was tall and spare, with broad shoulders, and a somewhat stooping gait. As a young man he was good-looking, with a high nose and brilliant complexion, but in advanced life his aspect was sinister and ferocious to the last degree. Ivan lived to see all his earlier conquests taken from him, except Kazan and Astrakhan. Esthonia, with Revel and other towns, were surrendered to Denmark, Sweden retook Narva, with Ivangorod, the Russian fortress, facing it on the opposite bank of the Narova. Livonia was ceded to Stephen Bathory, King of Poland, together with Polotsk, brilliantly captured by the Russian arms in 1563. Pskof, however, having withstood a celebrated siege, remained to Russia. In Eastern

[1] The Queen's letter, declining the offer, is still to be seen, preserved in a casket in one of the rooms of the old palace.—*Russian Art*, by Alfred Maskell, p. 236.

Russia affairs were in an unsettled state, owing to a revolt of the Cheremissi; whilst in the South, the Tartars of the Crimea, supported as they had been by the Sultan of Turkey, were ever a pressing danger. By far the most satisfactory result of his foreign policy was his alliance with England. That remained to him when all his ambitious designs had failed. The Baltic was closed to Russian trade, but the White Sea remained open, and he could write to the Queen, his "lovinge sister", as he invariably called her, on matters of state, on personal affairs, or commerce, as the inclination took him.

On the 23rd April 1558, furnished with letters of recommendation from the Tsar, Jenkinson started from Mosco on his adventurous journey towards Cathay. His companions were Richard and Robert Johnson, the former of whom had already travelled in Russia, having gone out with Chancellor in the first voyage in 1553, and taken part in Stephen Burrough's voyage in the *Searchthrift* in 1556. His knowledge of the country would, therefore, have been useful to Jenkinson, whom he decided to accompany; though in the instructions (Art. 15) it is desired that Richard Johnson, "late servant to M. Chanceler, shal be sent home in this next returne to instruct the companie of the state of the countrey, ... and that he shall haue the roome of the Captaine in such sort as Master Jenkinson is in this present cocket assigned vnto." Besides his English companions, he took with him a Tartar *tolmatch*, or interpreter, who would doubtless have been of great

service in communicating with the various tribes of Asiatics whose language has an affinity to the Tartar.

Descending the Moskva to its confluence with the Oka at Kolomna, he continued his journey down this river, passing the towns of Riazan, Kassimof, and Murom, famous even in those days for their history. On the eleventh day he came to Nijny Novgorod, now reached in about eleven hours by rail from Mosco, and here he made a halt of eight days, to wait the arrival of a newly appointed governor of Astrakhan, with whom he was to continue the journey. This officer had 500 large boats with him, laden with soldiers and war munitions, and in his company Jenkinson passed in safety those parts of the Volga inhabited by warlike tribes of Finnish and Tartar race, whose allegiance was not to be depended upon. On the 29th May our traveller arrived at Kazan, then in course of reconstruction. Its wooden fortifications were being demolished, and replaced by walls of stone, and Jenkinson was favourably impressed with its appearance. He was the first Englishman to visit this city, where he abode fifteen days, departing only on the 13th June. The next day he passed the mouth of the Kama, and pursued his journey down the lower Volga through a country inhabited by Nagai Tartars, who had lately made peace with Russia. Of their manners and customs he gives some interesting particulars, which might serve to describe the Kirghiz of the present day, from whom the Nagayans differed only in the construction and mode of carrying their tents.

On the 14th July Jenkinson arrived at Astrakhan, having passed on the same day the old town of this name, five miles above the new town. He found Astrakhan in a deplorable state, owing to a famine, followed shortly afterwards by the plague. Heaps of dead Nagayans lay unburied over the island on which Astrakhan is built, and many of the survivors were offered as slaves. Jenkinson could have bought a thousand from their own fathers or mothers for a loaf of bread apiece; but he adds that he had more need of provisions than of any such merchandise. He appears, however, to have become the possessor of a Tartar girl, "Aura Soltana", whom he, on his return, presented to the Queen (*infra*, p. 109). Astrakhan was the farthest possession of Russia towards the Caspian, in those days. Here the authority of the Tsar ended, and the travellers had to rely entirely on their own resources in prosecuting their journey. Having purchased a boat and equipped her, the three Englishmen started on their voyage on the 6th August, in the company of some Tartars and Persians. The intricate navigation of the Volga delta put their seamanship to a severe test, and on the 10th they entered the Caspian, the first Englishmen to enter that inland sea, and to sound and explore its basin. "It is curious to see", says Alexander von Humboldt, in his work on Central Asia,[1] "that this same nation, which in the vast ocean has rendered such great and memorable services to astronomical science, should also have been excited by interests of commerce to survey the coasts of a great basin of Central Asia."

[1] *Asie Centrale*, ii, p. 232.

The means which were employed by Jenkinson, and after him by Christopher Burrough, Bruce, Hanway, and others, were doubtless of a very imperfect kind, but to their intrepidity Europe owed a number of nautical and topographical observations, which threw fresh light on a part of the earth's surface concerning which complete ignorance prevailed. Jenkinson's survey did not extend beyond the northern coasts of the Caspian; neither, on his journey to Bokhara nor on that to Persia, three years later, did he navigate the southern portion of this sea; his map, therefore, published in 1561, and based only on his own observations, made during his first voyage, gives a widely different idea of the extent and configuration of its coasts to their delineation on modern maps. Nevertheless, as regards the northern coasts, where they came under his personal observation, he is generally correct. He speaks of "the blue sea", as it is still called, a wide bay to the north-east of the Volga delta; of the Yaik, afterwards known as the Ural river, debouching into the Caspian; and of the town of Seraichik, situated on it, visited by Ibn Batuta and several of the mediæval travellers on their way to Urgendj. It was while lying at anchor off the mouth of the Yaik that Jenkinson, who was very ill at the time, ran considerable risk of falling into the hands of a party of thirty well-armed robbers, who boarded his vessel under the pretence of searching for Kafirs or infidels. Fortunately for our English travellers, a Tartar mollah stood by them, and by

hard swearing prevailed upon the rovers to depart. From the Yaik they sailed E.S.E., the direction of the coast, till they were off the now desiccated entrance to the Emba, then south, to get into deeper water, crossing the wide but shallow Mertvi Kultuk gulf, and approaching the northern shore of Mangishlak peninsula, where a ridge of hills, running almost to Cape Tiuk Karagan, lends a bolder character to the coast. Here a storm overtook them, and compelled them to land, not precisely where they should have done, but on the opposite side of Koshak bay to that on which the port of Mangishlak was situated. On the 3rd September, nearly one month from the date of their leaving Astrakhan, they landed and prepared for their journey to Vezir.

Our traveller's experiences were henceforward of an altogether novel kind. He was among the wild, predatory inhabitants of the steppe, the Turkomans, who lived then, as they have done ever since, by rapine and plunder. They owned no allegiance to king or khan, respected no law or obligation of any kind, and even disregarded ties of kinship and family. Jenkinson found it quite impossible to have any dealings with them. Their promises were never kept, and hardly a day passed without he and his companions being molested, till he was glad to pay them their own price for camels and provisions, besides some presents to their prince or governor, and be quit of them. At length, on the 14th September, the caravan, numbering one thousand

camels, started. After travelling five days, they came to the dominions of another prince, Timur Sultan, brother to Hadjim, reigning Khan of Khiva. His authority extended to Mangishlak, and his people stopped and plundered the caravan. Jenkinson, however, rode in person to Timur Sultan, and represented his case so forcibly, that he fared better than the others, receiving a horse worth about half the value of the confiscated merchandise, and good entertainment. Had he not done this, he would, in all probability, have been robbed and spoiled of all he possessed. Twenty days' travel in the desert brought them to what Jenkinson took to be a gulf of the Caspian, but what really was Lake Sari-Kamish, as modern discoveries and surveys have shown. Here they refreshed themselves with its water, which was *sweet*—for it doubtless received then, as it occasionally does now, some of the surplus discharge of the Oxus—and proceeded three days' march to Vezir, or, as it is rendered in the text, *Sellizure*, at that time capital of Kwarezm, the modern Khanat of Khiva. Hadjim Khan was then the reigning sovereign of this country, and Jenkinson was brought before him and well received. At a second interview he was questioned a good deal about the Emperor of Russia, of whom Hadjim's father, Ogotai Khan, had doubtless heard through the Nogai Mirza, Kassai, as the latter informs Ivan IV, in 1553, that he had intimate relations both with the Tsar of Bokhara and with *Agotai*, Tsar of

Urgendj[1]; yet the earliest direct relations of these potentates with the Emperor of Russia were due to the enterprise of an English merchant—a fact, perhaps, lost sight of in the acute stages of the Central Asian question.

On the 14th October Jenkinson and his companions left Vezir, of which barely a trace remains at the present day, so completely desolate has the place become since the Oxus ceased to flow that way, and on the second day arrived at the old city of Urgendj—the Kunia Urgendj of modern maps. He found it in ruins, owing to the constant civil wars waged by the Khans of the houses of Ogotai and Bujuga. Abulghazi, the historian of the Mongol and Turkish princes, mentions that Hadjim Khan and his brothers besieged Urgendj and retook it from Ish Sultan, brother of Dost Khan, in the 965th year of the Hejira, or 1558 A.D.,[2] therefore, shortly before Jenkinson's arrival. The ruins of Urgendj have been seen by a modern Russian traveller, Baron Kaulbars, who says a fine view of them may be obtained from the earthern ramparts of Ak-Kala.[3] Jenkinson remained a month at Urgendj, but found the trade there insignificant, so harassed had the people been by wars. The country, too, was infested by bands of marauders, led by petty chiefs; for as soon as one had been worsted in battle he would flee to the steppe, and maintain himself and his followers in a precarious way by attacking and plundering

[1] *Vesselofsky*, p. 109. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[3] Zapisky, *Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obsch. Gen. Geogr.*, vol. ix, p. 409.

passing caravans. Every man rode armed with bow, arrows, and sword; their pursuits were rearing cattle; their pastime, hawking; they carried no money, but supplied their wants by barter; their chief drink was mare's milk, the well-known kumiss; and their food, horseflesh. Such is the picture drawn for us by Jenkinson of the inhabitants of Central Asia, and it might almost apply to these people at the present day, so little change has there been during three centuries of native rule.

From Urgendj Jenkinson travelled 100 miles up the desiccated bed of the old arm of the Oxus, which formerly flowed near Urgendj, and then crossed a great river, to which he, or his transcriber, gave the name of *Ardok*, and to which he ascribed a course of 1,000 miles to the northward and then 500 miles underground to the lake of Kitai (Cathay). Here he evidently trusted to hearsay information, and endeavoured to reconcile it with the erroneous geography of his time.[1] The passage in question, and his other allusions to the hydrography of this part of the Aralo-Caspian basin, have been fully discussed; but since the elaborate surveys made by Russian officers, much new light has been thrown on the subject, and we therefore give in a note Baron Kaulbars' remarks.

[1] Derived perhaps from mythological ideas concerning the rivers of Asia, such as are to be found in Marignolli's *Recollections of Travel*, or from Edrisi, where this author speaks of the disappearance of the Waksh-ab, one of the head tributaries of the Oxus. —*Cf. Cathay* (Hakl. Soc.), p. 350; Humboldt, *Asie Centrale*, ii, 230.

On the 7th December our traveller passed through Kath, where he was subjected to imposition by the ruler, a brother of Hadjim Khan, probably Suleiman. Between this place and Bokhara lay a tract of desert infested by robbers, a band of whom attacked the caravan, but met with such a spirited resistance, chiefly owing to the three Englishmen and their guns, that they were glad to make peace after three days' fighting, during which several on either side were slain. Having endured great privations, owing to want of water and provisions, the caravan reached Bokhara in safety on the 23rd December 1558. Three centuries had elapsed since the brothers Polo visited this city, and, after a residence there of three years, had been fortunate enough to proceed to Cathay. Like them, Jenkinson was also desirous of travelling thither; but circumstances had entirely changed. The "great Khan" Kublai of the Polos exercised undisputed authority over a wide region, extending from Mongolia to the Caspian, and made strangers from the west welcome to his court. His power, and that of his descendants, had long passed away, and the country was a prey to anarchy and confusion, owing to the rival claims of Uzbek princes and invasions of Kalmuks and Kirghiz. Finding that it would be impossible to continue his journey towards Cathay, Jenkinson wisely determined to return the way he came, after a stay of three months and a half at Bokhara. During this time he had several interviews with its king, the famous Abdullah Khan, under whose rule

the Oxus countries enjoyed a greater degree of prosperity than they have done since, and whose memory is still cherished by the inhabitants of Turkestan.[1] Our traveller's account of him is not altogether favourable, as he went to the wars without paying his debts; nevertheless, Jenkinson considered himself fortunate in receiving part of what was owed him and being despatched. Foregoing his intention of returning through Persia, Jenkinson departed from Bokhara on the 8th March 1559, with a caravan of 600 camels. In seventeen days he crossed the intervening desert, arriving at Urgendj on the 25th of the same month, in the company of two ambassadors, sent by the Khans of Bokhara and Balkh to the Emperor of Russia. At Urgendj four more ambassadors from its Khan joined his party, Jenkinson undertaking that they should be well treated in Russia, and suffered to depart. On the 23rd April they were once more on the shore of the Caspian, where they found their barque, but neither anchor, cable, nor sail in her. To remedy these deficiencies they set to work and spun a cable of some hemp they brought with them, made a sail of cotton cloth, and were devising an anchor of a wooden cart-wheel, when a barque opportunely arrived from Astrakhan with a spare anchor, which Jenkinson purchased. Having rigged their vessel to the best of their ability, the three Englishmen, with six ambassadors, and twenty-five Russian slaves, liberated from captivity through the instrumentality

[1] See *De Moscou en Bactriane*, Bonvallot, p. 248.

of Jenkinson, set sail, and after narrowly escaping shipwreck, or a worse fate, arrived in safety at Astrakhan on the 28th May. Here they remained till the 10th of June, engaged in preparations for their boat journey up the Volga.

Jenkinson breaks off his narrative at this point to say something of the Caspian and the countries bordering upon it; he also gives the result of his observations on the trade of Persia, and its chief towns. He found that his English cloth could not compete with merchandise of a similar kind imported by way of the Levant and Syria; while, owing to the few ships, the want of ports and mart towns, the poverty of the people, and the ice, no trade of any importance could be done on the Caspian.

On the 10th June, with an escort of 100 gunners to protect him, as well as the Khivan and Bokharian ambassadors, Jenkinson departed from Astrakhan. It took them six weeks to ascend the Volga to Kazan, and the whole of this time they had no opportunity of revictualling, for there were no habitations between these towns. Very different is the lower Volga at the present day, with many large and flourishing towns on its banks, countless steamers, lighters, and craft of every kind plying its waters. Nothing would probably better mark the lapse of time than the contrast between Jenkinson's Volga and the Volga of our day. On the 7th August they departed from Kazan, and proceeded by water as far as Murom, continuing the journey by land to Mosco, where they arrived on the 2nd September, after an absence

of a year, five months, and nine days. Jenkinson had an audience of the Tsar, to whom he presented a yak's tail and a Tartar drum; he also brought before him the six ambassadors committed to his charge, and the twenty-five Russian liberated slaves. The Tsar received him well, invited him to dinner, and asked him various questions relating to his travels. From the 2nd September to the 17th February our traveller abode at Mosco, chiefly engaged in the Company's affairs. Then having leave from the Emperor to depart, he proceeded to Vologhda, where he waited the opening of the navigation, arriving safely at Kholmogori on the 9th May 1560. Hence he returned to England by ship with Henry Lane.

His reception in England on his return from Central Asia was not what a traveller in these days would expect as his due, had he overcome the same difficulties and done as much for the benefit of his country and for science, as Jenkinson. There were no scientific societies to welcome our hero (for hero he undoubtedly was) and do him honour. He had penetrated with undaunted courage and perseverance into lands till then unknown, and he had won for England the first place in overland explorations towards Cathay. But though his work was valued by the merchants, his narrative of what he saw and did (modestly as it was told) earned for him no special reward or distinction. Nevertheless, the Merchant Adventurers decided to send him out again in 1561; and they accordingly organised another

expedition to the trans-Caspian countries, with Jenkinson, now a member of their Society, as their representative, to try and open commercial intercourse with Persia. He was instructed to proceed to Mosco, present the Queen's letters to the Tsar, and such gifts as he might consider suitable, and ask for letters of safe conduct through his dominions. If it should appear desirable, he was to treat for a fixed tariff on the transit of their merchandise to and from Persia and other countries. As to the sale or barter of their ware, full discretion was given him, and he was also to select such of the Company's servants or apprentices to accompany him as he might find necessary, taking one, at all events, on whom he could depend in case of anything happening to himself. On arriving in Persia, he was to present the Queen's letters to the Shah, or "Great Sophi", as this potentate was usually styled in Europe, and obtain, if possible, letters of privilege for a free trade into his dominions. If he should find it impossible to pass into Persia in the summer of 1562, he might either conduct an expedition to search for the north-east passage by Nova Zembla, or wait for the chance of entering Persia in 1563, unless in the meanwhile an opportunity should present itself of disposing of the Company's cloth in Russia. As a last resource, he might carry his merchandise through Poland to Constantinople, or elsewhere. It was also suggested that Richard Johnson, Jenkinson's former companion to Bokhara, might employ his time to advantage in exploring

the coasts of the Arctic Sea to the east of Kholmogori, and be at Mosco in time to start with Jenkinson for Persia.

On the 14th May 1561 our traveller embarked at Gravesend in the *Swallow*, and on the 26th July following arrived at Kholmogori. Hence he proceeded overland to Vologhda, passing through the old Russian province of Vago, and accomplishing this part of his journey in thirteen days, instead of five weeks, the time usually taken to reach it by water, in boats towed up the Dwina. On the 20th August he arrived at Mosco, where he sought an interview with the Emperor. Some time, however, elapsed before this was granted, the Tsar being then engaged in celebrating his second nuptials. Our traveller, too, met with some opposition from the Secretary, Ivan Mikhailof Viscovaty, who had on other occasions befriended the English.

So little success did Jenkinson meet with, that he was on the point of taking his departure for England, having disposed of the Company's cloth and other merchandise, and had actually received his passport and paid for the post-horses to convey him on his homeward journey, when Osep Napea, with whom he had made the voyage to Russia in 1557, called, and persuaded him to remain till the matter had been reconsidered. Jenkinson followed his advice, and three days afterwards received the desired permission to travel to Persia, with the promise of letters of recommendation to the foreign princes through whose territory he might pass. Not only

was this favour shown him, but he was also charged by the Tsar with important commissions,[1] probably referring to the relations of Russia with the Circassian princes who had taken the oath of allegiance, and asked to be led against the Turk. Whatever these "important matters" were, our traveller is discreetly silent about them; though he appears to have acquitted himself to the complete satisfaction of Ivan, who, to show his gratitude, granted more ample privileges to the English than they had yet enjoyed.

On the 15th of March Jenkinson dined with the Emperor, in the company of an ambassador of Persia, with whom he travelled to Astrakhan, where they arrived on the 10th June, in good health. Here they parted company, the Persian ambassador setting out in his own barque, while Jenkinson, who had letters to the Governor of Astrakhan, prepared to follow him. The northern part of the Caspian was frequented by pirates, and rendered unsafe for merchant vessels (only a few years later, Duckett, returning from Persia, was attacked and plundered of most of his goods); it was therefore necessary that Jenkinson should have a convoy to take him past the dangerous places. Two brigantines with fifty "gunners" (or *strelitsi*) were placed at his service for this purpose, and embarking on the 15th July 1562, he once more sailed into the Caspian, and taking a south-westerly course, threaded his way through the numerous islands lying off the

[1] *Karamsin*, viii, p. 252.

Volga delta, sighting on the second day the coast of Tumen, the country of Temgruk, father-in-law of Ivan. In their anxiety to avoid pirates, Jenkinson and his party sailed forty miles out of their course, and ran upon a sand-bank out of sight of land, where they might all have perished. Having escaped this peril, they were overtaken by a violent storm off the coast of Kumyk, and obliged to lie to for seven days. Their vessel had become leaky, and they had lost an anchor; but they rode out the gale with the remaining one, and kept her afloat by pumping. The remainder of their voyage they accomplished without further mishap. On the 1st August Jenkinson landed at Derbend, at that time a possession of Persia. This city had not till then been visited by any Englishman, although the Italian travellers of the 15th and 16th centuries had passed through it, and Contarini stayed there several months in 1475-6.[1] Jenkinson notices its singular position between the mountains and the sea, and speaks of its castle and the celebrated wall of Alexander. From Derbend he continued his voyage along the coast for eighty miles to Shabran, where he discharged his barque and prepared for his journey inland.

News having been received from the King of Shirvan that Jenkinson might repair to his court, our traveller started on the 12th August, and arrived at Shemakha on the 18th. He then rode twenty miles into the mountains, where he found

[1] See his *Travels*, published by the Hakluyt Society, p. 147.

the King, Abdullah Khan, of whose royal state, dress, and retinue he speaks at length, and also of a grand banquet at which he (Jenkinson) was an honoured guest. The King promised him men to conduct him in safety to the Shah, who was then at his capital, Kazvin, thirty days' journey from Shemakha; and after showing him great favour, dismissed him. So far, Jenkinson's mission had been perfectly successful, and he had strong hopes of accomplishing the object of his journey and establishing a trade with Persia. Circumstances, however, over which he had no control, prevented this.

The wars between Turkey and Persia, which had been frequent in the reign of Ismail Sophi and of his son Tahmasp, and which were in a great measure due to the bitter animosity between the followers of Othman and the Kalifs, and those of Ali and his descendants, the Suffavean monarchs of Persia, had for a time ceased. Solyman II, now in declining years, was more concerned about family affairs than anxious to extend an already unwieldy empire. Of his four sons by Roxolana, Selim, the eldest, had been chosen by him as his successor, whilst Bajazet, younger and more warlike, the favourite of his mother and the people, was in revolt. Finding that his father was determined to put him to death, Bajazet fled to Persia with his sons, and sought the protection of Shah Tahmasp. This monarch received him well, treated him courteously, and promised to intercede for him, whilst at the same time he was traitorously negotiating with

Solyman, and soon after threw Bajazet into prison. Shah Tahmasp, however, still declined to give him up alive, but at length accepted a bribe to allow him to be killed. A special messenger, Hassan Agha, a eunuch of the court, the "ambassador" of our text, was sent from Constantinople, and had an interview with Bajazet, whom at first he did not recognise, and it was only after he had been washed and shaved that he knew his playmate of former years. Bajazet's identity having been established, Hassan Agha received orders to put him to death, which he did under circumstances of great cruelty, his sons, down to an infant of two years, sharing their father's fate.[1]

The fate of Bajazet created much interest in Europe, partly no doubt from sympathy towards the wretched man, but chiefly for its political influence, as it was feared that the Sultan, having succeeded in extinguishing what might have become a formidable conspiracy, would be more haughty and difficult to treat with than ever. In Persia, as we learn from Jenkinson, it united for the time religious differences, and caused great rejoicing among Muhammadans of all creeds.

Seeing that he could make no progress in his negotiations, and having passed the winter at

[1] In a note to the recent English edition of De Busbecq's letters, from which the above particulars are borrowed, the date assigned to the death of Bajazet is the 25th September 1561. Jenkinson, however, who arrived in Kazvin in October 1562, says that it happened a few days before his arrival. (*Cf. Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq.* London, 1881, vol. i, p. 381.)

Kazvin, Jenkinson now prepared to depart. He was fortunate in being allowed to do this in safety, for it seemed probable at one time that the Shah would serve him in the same way as he had done Bajazet, and send his head a present to the Sultan. On the 20th March he set out on his homeward journey, arriving on the 30th at Ardebil, and on the 15th April at Jevat, where he had another interview with Abdullah Khan, from whom he obtained letters of safe conduct, and privileges for the English merchants. Proceeding to Shemakha, he there received a message from Simon, King of Georgia, praying that assistance might be sent him, for, situated as he was between two powerful Muhammadan States, Turkey and Persia, he found himself continually involved in their wars, the consequences of which were disastrous to his country. Jenkinson did his best to open communications with him, by sending Edward Clarke to Arash, on the road to Tiflis, with orders to enter Georgia, and if possible see the King. Clarke, however, was stopped at the frontier, and rejoined Jenkinson at Shemakha, the two embarking together to return to Russia on the 21st April 1563. Good fortune seems never to have deserted our traveller; he safely passed all dangers by land and sea, and on the 30th May found himself once more at Astrakhan. Here he was provided with the same escort as before, 100 gunners or *strelitzi*, reaching Kazan on the 15th July and Mosco on the 20th August, with all his goods and valuables, both for the Tsar's account as well as for the Company.

For the Tsar he brought precious stones and wrought silks of various colours and kinds; for the Company, raw silk and dye-stuffs, besides other merchandise, all of which were laden in the Company's ships, and despatched to England the same year.

Jenkinson stayed the winter at Mosco, despatching Edward Clarke overland to England with advices. He in the meantime prepared a second expedition to Persia, which he committed to the charge of Alcock, Wren, and Cheinie.

A short account of this voyage is preserved in Hakluyt's collection, written by Cheinie. From this it appears that he and Alcock started from Yaroslavl on the 10th May 1563 (1564 ?) and arrived at Astrakhan on the 24th July. On the 2nd of August they departed from Astrakhan, entered the Caspian on the 4th, and arrived at their port in Media (probably Bilbil) on the 11th of the same month. On the 21st they were at Shemakha, where they were well entertained by Abdullah Khan. On the 20th October Alcock started for Kazvin, leaving Cheinie behind at Shemakha to collect debts, in which, however, the latter appears to have been unsuccessful. Upon Alcock's return from Kazvin, Cheinie went to meet him at Jevat. Alcock now pressed the King for payment of debts owed by his "dukes". But the King was displeased at the death of a Muhammadan, caused by a Russian merchant, and Alcock, finding that matters were looking serious, desired Cheinie to depart for Shemakha with all such goods as he (Alcock) had bought at Kazvin. Cheinie

reached Shemakha in safety, but, on the third day after his arrival, learned that Alcock had been murdered on his way to join him. Seeing that he was alone, and that the Russian merchants were hastening to leave the country, fearing the consequences of their countryman's imprudent act, Cheinie also made all the haste he could, and sent his merchandise to the seaside. He himself continued to reside at Shemakha six weeks longer, and after much trouble succeeded in recovering 1,500 roubles of the debts. Cheinie throws out sundry imputations against Glover's honesty, and concludes by a pitiful appeal to the Company to see him righted, for he had suffered much in their service, and had sown the seed while others had reaped the harvest.

The succeeding four voyages to Persia, from Hakluyt's collection, are given in the Appendix. Arthur Edwards describes the third voyage in three letters to the Russia Company. The first of these is dated from Yaroslaf, on the 15th May 1565, and refers to the preparations for the journey, the appointment of Johnson, formerly companion of Jenkinson, as chief, and the fitting out of a small barque, made after the English style, for the navigation of the Caspian. In a second letter, written from Shemakha on the 26th April 1566, Edwards relates their departure from Astrakhan and arrival at Nizabad, on the coast of Shirvan (now included in the Russian government of Baku, but long since abandoned as a port, owing to its inconvenience for shipping).

Having landed their goods, and hauled their vessel into a place of security, Edwards, Johnson, and Kitchin set out for Shemakha, where they arrived on the 11th September, and six days afterwards were admitted to the presence of the good Abdullah Khan, who had received Jenkinson and Alcock so hospitably. To him they presented some rich gifts, —a timber of sables, a *nest* of silver-gilt cups, three walrus-tusks, scarlet cloth, etc. These were graciously received, and the Englishmen were promised protection, and asked to make known their wishes in writing. But before they had done this Abdullah Khan died, and the English lost in him a good friend.

From that time troubles and misfortunes came thickly upon them. Losses from death and sickness, bad debts, attacks by pirates on the Caspian, and robbers on land, together with the disturbed state of the country consequent on the wars between Turkey and Persia, rendered vain all attempts of the agents to establish a trade for the Company in Persia, and finally led to their abandonment,—not, however, before six expeditions had been sent out. The first and second have already been mentioned; we will now continue our account of the third. Edwards reached Kazvin, and found the Shah well disposed towards the English, and desirous of trading with them. Privileges were obtained, exempting the English from payment of all customs and tolls, and allowing them free access to all parts of Persia and the adjoining countries; justice was to be done them, and their debts paid, etc. Yet, notwithstand-

ing that these articles were supplemented on a subsequent occasion by further grants, the trade did not prosper, and it was found that but little respect was paid to the Shah's authority in the outlying provinces. Edwards heard that the silk industry in Ghilan was in a flourishing state, and that alum could be bought at a price to make it worth while exporting to England. He recommended that communications should be opened direct with a port on the coast of Ghilan (probably Lahijan), seven or eight days' sail from Astrakhan, and was sanguine of arranging for quick returns thence by inland navigation through Russia to the White Sea.

The record of the fourth voyage is told by Lawrence Chapman, whose letter is dated from Kazvin, April 28, 1569. His tale differs widely from that of his chief, Edwards. Chapman succeeded in bartering some of the cloth in Tabriz for spices; but a sale made by him to a merchant in Georgia was thrown on his hands, and he had no redress, though his buyer was a Christian. He found it impossible to compete with the Venetians, Turks, and Armenians, who held the Levantine trade in their own hands. At Kazvin, he found no sale for the English commodities; and he remarks upon the manifold dangers and discomforts of travelling in Persia, which led him to prefer, as he quaintly puts it, "to continue a begger in England during life, than to remaine a rich merchant in this country (Persia)". Chapman travelled into Ghilan, and visited the chief towns of that rich but pestilential country.

He found, however, many Turks there, who gave him the disingenuous advice of trying Aleppo as a market for English goods. Some further notes on this fourth voyage are added by Richard Willes, from information supplied by Edwards, whose interview with the Shah is described at some length.

A fifth voyage was sent to Persia in 1569, under the command of Thomas Bannister, upon whose death Geoffrey Duckett took charge. Their party consisted of the two agents just mentioned, Lionel Plumtree, some twelve Englishmen, and forty Russians. They embarked at Yaroslaf, in a barque of 70 tons burden, named the *Thomas Bonaventure*, probably built expressly for the Persian trade. On their voyage down the Volga they were attacked by the Nagay Tartars, who were in league with the Krims then about to invade Russia, and only succeeded in beating off their assailants after two hours' hard fighting, in which the English plied their calivers (muskets) so well, that 120 of the Tartars were reported to have been placed *hors de combat*, but 36 out of 41 men were killed and wounded on their own side.[1] At Astrakhan they were witnesses of a great invasion of Turks and Tartars, sent by Sultan Selim II to take Astrakhan, or at all events establish the Ottoman power in Southern Russia,—a design completely frustrated by the stubborn defence of the small Russian garrison in that town, as well as by the divided counsels among the besiegers them-

[1] Bannister to Cecil, *Cal. S. P.*, For. Eliz., 1569-71, No. 813.

selves, who retired to Azof in great disorder. These events detained the English six weeks at Astrakhan, and it was only after the departure of the invading host that Bannister, Duckett, and the rest were able to proceed on their voyage, only reaching their port, Bilbil, towards the end of October. Hence they repaired to Shabran, a little way inland, and then to Shemakha, the capital of Shirvan, and the great *entrepôt* of trade at that time. They passed the winter at Shemakha, and set out for Ardebil in the month of April following. Ardebil, held in high estimation by the Persians as the burial-place of their saints and kings, was the scene of tumult and anarchy when the English travellers arrived, owing to religious differences between rival sects of Muhammadans. In one of their frays, Lionel Plumtree, who appears to have been of a somewhat venturesome disposition, wishing to see how they fought, was twice wounded, but escaped to tell the tale. While they were at Ardebil, a messenger arrived from the Shah, desiring the Englishmen to go to him, and Bannister accordingly proceeded to Kazvin, leaving Duckett sick at Ardebil. Bannister's entertainment at the Shah's court was everything that could be desired, and all his requests were granted, except permission to proceed to India. In other respects he was successful; the Shah himself bought much of his cloth, and paid him handsomely for it. He moreover sent to the English merchants to exchange his coin for theirs, assigning as the reason that, as he wished to send a sum of money to Mecca, he

considered their coin, obtained in an honourable way, would be more acceptable to the prophet than his, which was gotten by dishonest means.

After spending six months in Kazvin, Bannister departed for Tabriz, where he found Duckett, completely restored to health. Soon afterwards Bannister proceeded to Shemakha, and thence to Arrash, where he fell a victim to the malaria for which that place is notorious even at the present day. Here, too, died Lawrence Chapman and five more Englishmen. These losses, together with the robbery and murder of two other Englishmen sent by Duckett to bring him intelligence of his colleague, happening within the short space of time of five weeks, were a severe blow to the Persian enterprise. Duckett, however, upon whom the whole responsibility now fell, showed himself equal to the emergency. Finding that the governor of Shemakha would not allow him to remove the merchandise, which had been seized upon the death of Bannister, without express order from the Shah, he journeyed to Kazvin to obtain the requisite authority from this sovereign, and having obtained this, returned to Shemakha, and then made preparations for a journey to Kashan. This he successfully accomplished, passing on his way, but only briefly alluding to, the imposing remains of Persepolis, the capital of Xerxes. It is interesting to compare his description of Kashan with those of modern travellers, and find the accounts agreeing in the main. Persia of Elizabethan times offers but few points of contrast with Persia of the Victorian era.

Returning once more to Shemakha, Duckett passed some further time in various places, buying raw silk and other merchandise, and at length, on the 8th May 1573, set sail for Astrakhan. His adventures, however, were by no means at an end, for after beating about the Caspian for twenty days, he was set upon by Cossack pirates, to the number of 150. After a gallant resistance and some desperate fighting, in which fourteen of the pirates were killed and thirty wounded, the English, all of whom were wounded, were compelled to make terms and surrender their ship. The Cossacks swore on their crucifixes to respect their lives, and turned them all adrift in a boat with a supply of horse flesh and swine's flesh, but no other victuals or relief. In this plight the English made the best of their way to Astrakhan, where Duckett at once made known their condition to the captain (governor) of this town. He immediately despatched his son, with forty boats and five hundred men, in pursuit of the pirates. This force, by good luck, came up with them, and might have effected an easy capture, had they not foolishly warned the enemy of their approach by sounding their drums. This gave the Cossacks time to cut their cables and go off into deep water, where the boats could not follow them. Subsequently, however, many of them were captured, and £5,000 worth of goods recovered. The Englishmen having regained their strength at Astrakhan, proceeded up the Volga, but were caught in the ice in October, and their boats cut in sunder, causing the loss of much that they had saved. With the re-

mainder they made their way overland to Vologhda, and thence sent it to St. Nicholas. Meanwhile, Duckett, Plumtree, and Riall went to Mosco, where the Tsar took pity on them and bought some of their goods. After spending the winter in Mosco, they departed for St. Nicholas, and embarked in August 1574 for England, arriving in London in the month of October, after a stormy passage of nine weeks. Thus ended this unfortunate voyage, which at one time had promised so well for the Company.

The sixth and last attempt of the Moscovy Company to establish a trade with Persia through Russia was in 1579-81. The four principal factors sent out from England were Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Talboys, and Peter Garrard. The narrative of their doings is preserved in a letter written by Christopher Burrough to his uncle, William Burrough, who will be frequently mentioned in the following pages.[1] Upon their arrival at Astrakhan, they learnt that great troubles had come upon Persia,—the Turks, with their allies the Krim Tartars, having conquered Media, or Shirvan. Under these circumstances, and as the season was already far advanced, the English decided to pass the winter in Astrakhan. They appear to have kept a chronicle of the chief events which happened during their stay here. Thus, mention is made of a total eclipse of the moon on the 31st January 1580; of a great fire at the Tartar yurt, about three-

[1] See pp. 254, 256.

quarters of a mile from Astrakhan; and other remarkable phenomena and events. In the spring of the year news reached Astrakhan that the Queen of Persia (wife of the blind King Khodabendeh, son of Shah Tahmasp, who had died in 1576) had attacked and defeated the Turks in Shirvan; but that Derbend was still held by the Turks. A consultation of the factors was now held, and they determined on prosecuting their voyage, leaving Arthur Edwards with half their goods at Astrakhan. On the 1st of May, accordingly, they weighed anchor and departed, experiencing great difficulty in floating their large ship over the shallows which obstruct the navigation of the Volga delta. It was not till the 15th May that they were clear of the shoals, and on the 17th they bore off to sea and reloaded their ship,—for they had been obliged to lighten her in order to pass the shallows. On the 27th they saw land about three leagues from them, and, sailing between some rocks called Barmak tash and the coast, passed their port of Bilbil, where they should have put in but could not, probably because their ship drew too much water. Sailing along the coast they came to Bildigh, in the north-west corner of the peninsula of Apsheron, only one day's journey on foot from Baku. Here they anchored, and spoke with some natives, who confirmed the reports which had reached them at Astrakhan: Derbend was garrisoned by Turks, commanded by a Turkish pasha; Shemakha was destroyed, and but few inhabitants left in it. Under these circumstances it would have

been a hopeless task to try and enter Persia with their goods, so they determined to open communications, if possible, with the Turkish pasha. With this object in view, they sent a messenger to Baku, who brought back word the following day that the captain (governor) of Baku had received him well, and would himself visit them. Preparations were made for the reception of this officer, who arrived with an escort of thirty soldiers, clad in shirts of mail, with gauntlets of silver and steel, fair to behold. The factors received him in a tent they had erected on shore, and, after an interchange of friendly salutations, gave him some rich presents, which were gratefully accepted. They then requested that they might be allowed to go to Derbend. This was acceded to; and as the road thither was dangerous, the officer said he would first send to that city and notify the pasha of their arrival, specifying the goods they had brought, and what they proposed to take in exchange. But he asked for a hostage, as, in case they went away, he might lose his head. Peter Garrard offered himself as hostage, and he was accompanied by an interpreter for the Persian language, and by Christopher Burrough, who spoke Russian. They were taken to a village about ten miles from the seaside, where they were well treated. The following morning, Turnbull, Talboys, and Thomas Hudson, master of the ship, joined them, and they all went to Baku, and from thence to Derbend, travelling thither not by the ordinary roads, for they were dangerous, but

through woods. They were well received by Osman Pasha at Derbend, and given leave to trade. By his invitation they brought their ship from Bildigh and anchored her opposite Derbend, where they unloaded her; but finding no great sale for their wares, they sent some in a small boat to Baku. Here, too, little could be done, and an attempt to open communications with Shemakha nearly proved fatal to one of the party. The factors, in the meantime, learning that the leaky condition of their barque made it doubtful if she would carry them back to Astrakhan, purchased a vessel called a buss, of thirty-five tons burden, of an Armenian. This vessel was lying off an island near Bildigh, and they wrote to those of their company at Baku to receive and load her with such goods as they could buy there. Hardly was this done when a storm arose, cables and hawsers were broken, and their newly purchased vessel driven ashore and dashed to pieces on the rocks. All on board and part of the cargo were saved, but a chest of gold bullion and several bales of cloth were lost. About this time, the pasha at Derbend, having received treasure to pay his soldiers, changed his manner towards the factors, who were suddenly ordered to leave the town.

By the 3rd October they were ready to set sail for Astrakhan, when they received news of the shipwreck of their buss at Bildigh, and that their companions whom they had intended to leave behind were on their way to join them. This detained them some days longer on the coast; and by the time all

had joined the ship, including two Spaniards taken prisoners by the Turks, the season was far advanced. Contrary winds and stormy weather again delayed them, so that, before reaching the four islands (the *Cheteri Bugri* of the Russians), their vessel wascaught in the ice, and drifted helplessly to and fro. Meanwhile they were reduced to great straits for want of provisions, and famine was staring them in the face, when the much-needed help arrived from Astrakhan, measures having been taken by the governor of that town to rescue them. At length they all arrived there in safety, after going through many hardships, accidents, and adventures. They remained the winter at Astrakhan, experiencing kind treatment from the governor and all the officials. In the following spring they set out on their voyage up the Volga, taking with them the goods they had purchased in Shirvan. That summer they embarked for England, arriving in London in September 1581.

Thus ended the sixth and last attempt of the Muscovy Company to establish a trade with Persia through Russia.

On the 9th July 1564 Jenkinson embarked for England on board the *Swallow*, the same vessel in which he had sailed for Russia, and arrived safely in London on the 28th September, after an absence of more than three years.

He had ventured his life freely for his employers, and had satisfaction in finding that his services were appreciated, for in the next charter of privileges his

name appears as a member of the Company for which he had hitherto acted as agent.

He was now in great repute among his countrymen, not only for his remarkable travels, but also for the goodwill he had gained by his tact and discretion among the foreign potentates with whom he had had relations. Owing to him the affairs of the Muscovy Company showed a marked improvement; and in a letter from Henry Lane, published in Purchas, he says that the year of Jenkinson's return to England, after his journey to Bokhara, was the first in which their ships had returned without loss or accident of any kind. He had already (before his expedition to Persia) been taken into the public service; for the Queen's letter of recommendation to the Tsar mentions this fact, and he was now to be employed in a not less responsible mission nearer home.

Before following him, however, to the coast of Scotland, in the autumn of 1565, let us see what he was doing in the spring of that year. The desire to discover a short sea route to Cathay was very great about the middle of the sixteenth century, and continued to absorb the minds of the leading spirits in Europe.

The Spaniards and Portuguese had doubled the southernmost capes of both hemispheres, and met at the Spice Islands on the opposite side of the globe. Their navigators, braving every danger and privation, had crossed both oceans and traced the coast-line of two continents. The wealth of the

East and West Indies was within their grasp. Three-fourths of the unknown world had by these means been discovered. One-fourth yet remained; the northern parts of America, where Englishmen, led by Italians, had first set foot; and the famous region of Cathay, towards which they had been striving since Willoughby sailed in 1553 into the Arctic Sea. Several years had elapsed since the last efforts had been made, during which, thanks to the Russian trade, English navigators were being trained in northern voyages, and it was time to renew the attempts, and not allow the laurels of Arctic enterprise to be snatched from their grasp. Such were the arguments used by Jenkinson, in a petition addressed to the Queen, dated the 31st May 1565. His own journeys, and the information collected by himself and others, convinced him of the possibility of navigating the Polar Seas and opening the passage from west to east, provided that the right time of year were chosen, and every preparation made to ensure success. He offered himself to take the lead, and was ready to venture life and fortune in the service of his country. To enter into the merits of the rival schemes of Cathayan enterprise, as they were discussed by Jenkinson, Gilbert, and others, would be beyond our purpose, and we must now allude to his services on the coast of Scotland in the autumn of 1565, in the interval between his return from Persia and his third journey to Russia. The account is derived from documents preserved at the State Paper Office.

The narrow seas between the British Isles and the Continent swarmed with privateers, who were the terror of peaceable merchantmen.

"English merchants and English gentlemen", says Lindsay, in his *Merchant Shipping* (vol. ii, p. 112), "whose estates lay contiguous to the sea coast, or on the creeks and navigable rivers, fitted out vessels as traders, under vague and questionable commissions, and sent them forth heavily armed to plunder on the high seas whatever ships, including not unfrequently those of their own countrymen, they might consider worthy of their prey."

The Spanish shipping was the chief object of attack, but France fared equally badly, even after the declaration of peace with that country; and frequent complaints were made by Philip of Spain, Catherine de Medicis, and her son Charles IX, at the losses sustained by their subjects. Elizabeth became at length herself alarmed at the lawlessness of these so-called privateers, and took measures to suppress them. One of the vessels commissioned for this purpose, the *Ayde*, of 200 tons burden, carrying eighteen guns, left Queenborough on the 17th September, under Jenkinson's command. Besides his orders to stop pirates he had secret instructions to prevent Bothwell and other Scottish lords from landing in Scotland; and, doubtless with this object in view, he sailed at once to the Firth of Forth. On arriving at Berwick, however, he learned that Bothwell had already effected a landing, and he therefore fell back upon his commission to sweep the sea of rovers. In pursuance of this he captured the vessel of one Charles Wilson, who was sailing under

letters of marque granted by the King of Sweden, and had probably been engaged in piracy. Happening, however, to arrive off Berwick at the critical time of the disturbances in Scotland consequent upon Mary's marriage with Darnley, Wilson was employed by the Earl of Bedford, Governor of Berwick, to wait for Bothwell, whom he missed, but captured the Earl of Sutherland; and having rendered this service, was desired to hold his ship in readiness to transport the Countess of Moray, whose husband had taken a leading part in the conspiracy against Mary, to a place of safety, as she was shortly expecting her confinement. Bedford had given Wilson his licence, and warned Jenkinson not to interfere with him. Nevertheless, Jenkinson apprehended Wilson under his warrant, and took his ship to England. On learning this, the Earl of Bedford wrote wrathfully to the Lords of the Privy Council, making serious charges against our traveller, designating him as "that vile man who had so traiterously sought to deface him", and complaining "that never was any so abused by a villain as he had been by Jenkinson". Whether this outbreak of anger seriously affected Jenkinson's character does not appear, for nothing further is recorded of his service in the *Ayde*.

Not many months after, the Russia Company, having received a new charter from Queen Elizabeth, again required his services, and memorialised the Queen that he should be sent on another mission to the Tsar, to intercede in their behalf in the following matter.

Raphael Barberini, an Italian of high birth and good connections, had entered Russia, and by his abilities and talents had made so favourable an impression on the Tsar as to obtain facilities of trade and other privileges for himself and his countrymen. The English Company believed this to be injurious to their interests, and were therefore anxious that Jenkinson should use every endeavour to obtain his dismissal. This commission was rendered the more difficult owing to the circumstance of Barberini having been strongly recommended to the Tsar by the Queen herself, as one who, though an Italian, was, for certain reasons, very dear to her. Jenkinson was directed to say that Barberini had obtained his credentials under false pretences, and was therefore not to be trusted. He was, moreover, to pray for a continuance of past favours, and especially that the monopoly of the White Sea trade, hitherto enjoyed by English merchants, might not be interfered with by any other foreigners.

Jenkinson sailed from London on the 4th May 1566, in the *Harry*, a ship belonging to the Company, and arrived at St. Nicholas on the 10th July. Travelling overland by post, he reached Mosco on the 23rd August, and on the 1st September was received in audience by the Emperor, to whom he delivered the Queen's letters and presents. He was again successful in obtaining all that was required. A new charter was granted by the Tsar to the Company, extending their privileges, and confirming to them the monopoly of the White Sea trade.

Not only were strangers forbidden to trade to any of the ports or estuaries in the north, but even Englishmen not belonging to the Company were excluded from participating in the traffic; while Barberini left Russia to fight as a common soldier under the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, and two years later was ambassador from Rome to the Queen of England—a curious instance of the vicissitudes of fortune in those days.

Of Jenkinson's third voyage to Russia only "a very brief remembrance" is preserved in Hakluyt. This is preceded (p. 189) by a letter from Jenkinson to Sir William Cecil, dated from Kholmogori, the 26th June 1556; and is followed by a letter from the Governors of the Russia Company to their agents, transcribed from a MS. at the British Museum (p. 206). In writing to Cecil, our traveller gives the latest news that had reached him since his arrival in Russia. Hostilities with Poland had been suspended, and King Sigismond had sent his ambassador to trea tfor peace[1] with Ivan, whose relations with Sweden were also unsettled at this time. Eric XVI, a weak and unprincipled monarch, had taken possession of Revel, with Esthonia, and was desirous of keeping it in spite of the opposition

[1] Karamsin gives the name of this envoy, Yuri Bonikowsky, and says that he was thrown into prison by the Tsar in retaliation for insults offered by Sigismond to the Russian boyards, and only released after seven months, when he was told to take back the message that the Tsar was now ready to make peace. (*Karamsin*, ix, pp. 144-8.)

of Denmark. To conciliate the Tsar, he entered into an infamous treaty to surrender to him his sister-in-law, Catherine, sister of Sigismond, the virtuous and beautiful wife of John, Duke of Finland. The Swedes, however, would not allow this treaty to be ratified, and shortly afterwards murdered Eric.[1] Jenkinson also alludes to the various cruelties practised by the Tsar on his boyards and subjects, and some of the particulars he gives are confirmed by Edward Webbe, a boy only twelve years of age, who accompanied him as personal attendant.

The journey of Southam and Sparke from Kholmogori to Novgorod, through Karelia (p. 190), helps to fill the gap caused by the meagreness of Jenkinson's narrative. Sparke, whose name occurs in the first list of the members of the Muscovy Company, afterwards undertook a journey to Persia in 1568,[2] and, having safely returned from that country, met with his end at the burning of Mosco in 1571. These two Englishmen started from Kholmogori about the 20th July, in a *lodia* or barque, and descending the Dwina, anchored off the monastery of St. Michael the Archangel. The following day they dropped down the river to St. Nicholas, and, coasting along the south shore, passed Una bay, afterwards memorable for having afforded shelter to Peter the Great when caught in a storm. On the 30th July they reached the island monastery of Solovetsky, where they obtained from the monks letters of recommendation and a guide. It is worthy

[1] *Karamsin*, ix, 154. [2] *Infra*, p. 408.

of remark that their visit to Solovetsky occurred about the time of the appointment of Philip, its abbot, to the primacy of the Russo-Greek Church. On the 1st August they took their departure from the monastery, and laid their course for Soroka bay, into which the Vyg discharges. Ascending this river in light boats, which they had occasionally to drag overland to avoid falls and rapids, they reached Voitsk, a place celebrated towards the end of the eighteenth century for having yielded the first gold discovered in Russia. From Lake Voitsk they crossed by land to Lake Vyg, where, after arranging for boats and men to conduct them in safety to Povenets, on Lake Onega, their guide left them. They reached this town on the 10th August, finding that by the route they had come no merchandise could be transported either in summer or winter, but that a second route from Povenets to Suma was practicable in winter. From Lake Onega to the Baltic there are no obstacles to navigation, and here they must have found their journey easy and agreeable. They sailed down Lake Onega, entered the river Svir, which flows out of it, and followed its course to Lake Ladoga. Crossing a bay of this lake to the mouth of the Volkhof, they found themselves on the old trade route of the people of Novgorod, where they bartered with the merchants of the Hansa League; and the places mentioned by them on the Volkhof had been connected with the earliest direct intercourse of Russians with the west of Europe. They arrived at Novgorod on the 30th

August, where they found William Rowley, the newly-appointed chief agent of the Company, prevented by the plague, then raging there, from proceeding further. This journey of Southam and Sparke, accomplished in a little over six weeks, deserves to be better known.

Further light is thrown on the proceedings of Jenkinson and the English in Russia by the letters from the Governors of the Russia Company. In 1557 they write to their agents :—

"Also we haue sent you one Anthonie Ienkinson, gentleman, a man well trauelled, whom we mind to vse for further trauelling, according to a commission deliuered him, subscribed by Master Anthonie Huse and others. Wherefore we will you deliuer him one or more of such painfull (*i.e.* painstaking) young men as he shal thinke meetest for his purpose, and likewise such money and wares as he shal think best to take with him. He must haue fourty pounds a yere, for foure yeeres, to be paid him by the halfe yeere, or as he wil demaund it of you, so let him haue it from Easter last." (*Hakl.*, 1599, vol. i, p. 302.)

In 1560 they write that they have—

"a further hope of some good trade to be found out by Master Antonie Ienkinson, by reason we doe perceiue by your letters that raw silke is as plentifull in Persia as flaxe is in Russia. . . . . We hope in your next letters to heare good newes of the proceeding of Master Anthonie Ienkinson. We perceiue by his letters that Astracan is not so good a mart towne as the fame hath gone of it, and maruell much that round pewter should be so good, and good chepe there, and from whence it should come. . . . . If our friend Master Antonie Ienkinson be returned, and meane to come away in these ships to declare his mind and opinion of his trauaile, if need require, and he be so minded, he may returne thither

(*i.e.*, to Russia) by land, and be there by the fiue of Ianuarie or before. But as we be vncertaine whether he be returned or not, so we know not what he hath done nor what benefite may arise hereafter of his trauaile. Therefore in this wee remit it to his and your good discretions. . . . ." (*Hakl.*, 1599, i, 308.)

Frequent mention, too, is made of Jenkinson, in their letter dated in 1567 (Text, pp. 206-25), where he is referred to as a person of great experience, to whom full authority had been given to arrange various matters connected with their business establishments; his advice was to be followed, they write, as he "knowith our mindes in all things". He had been instructed to obtain leave for the English to work iron, which was granted to them in a later charter; and he gave them good hope of a profitable trade in spices, drugs, and silks with Persia. He was to be supplied with such money as he required "for the atchiving of our sutes and other affaires there," and with an interpreter, Ralph Rutter—showing that he had not mastered the Russian language. There is also mention made of a special commission having been given him, of which no trace has been found.

Dr. Hamel thinks it likely that Jenkinson visited England in the winter of 1566-7, to look after the Tsar's commissions; and this supposition appears to be borne out by the arrival in Russia, in the summer of 1567, of Dr. Reynolds; Thomas Carver, an apothecary; Humphrey Lock, an engineer; and other professional men, for the Tsar's service; it is

also partly confirmed by the incidental allusions to him in the Governors' letter. Writing to the Queen in September 1567, Ivan thanks her for acceding to his requests, and for her letter by Anthony Jenkinson. This letter, dated 18th May 1567, appears to have been seen by Hamel,[1] though we have not come across it, and leads to the presumption that Jenkinson went overland to England in the winter of 1566, conferred with Cecil and others about the affairs of the Tsar and the Russia Company, and returned the following spring to Russia, perhaps by ship, with the Englishmen just named.

So closely connected with our traveller are the affairs of the Russia Company, that it will not be out of place here to give a slight sketch of them. Taking their origin in an association known as the Merchant Adventurers, formed by Sebastian Cabot, to stimulate commercial enterprise in England, and follow the example of Spain and Portugal in extending their trade to distant countries, the Muscovy, or Russia Company, as it became generally known, received their first charter of inauguration in 1555,[2] the same year that Richard Chancellor laid the foundation of the English trade with Russia.[3] In a State Paper of that year there is a list of 207 noblemen, knights, aldermen, etc., forming the Russia, or Muscovy Company,[4] and among the

[1] *England and Russia*, p. 177.

[2] 1 and 2 Philip and Mary. (*Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 304-9.)

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 302-4.

[4] *Cal. S. P.*, Dom. Mary, add. vol. viii, No. 39, p. 439. *Cf. MS. Lansd.* 141, fols. 343, 352.

names are those of Sir William Cecil, Sir Richard Sackville, the Greshams, Sir George Barnes, and others. Their constitution differed but little from that of corporations of the present day, except that they had extensive privileges. They might take possession of territory lying to the northward, north-eastwards, and north-westwards; they might hoist the English flag on lands newly discovered by them; and, in consideration of their successful opening of

Seal of the Russia Company.

intercourse with Russia, they were granted the exclusive right of trading with that country, as well as any other they might afterwards discover.

Their first Governor was Sebastian Cabot, appointed for the term of his life; four consuls[1] and

[1] Howell says: "The marchants of Russia were incorporated by Edward 6, and confirmed by Queene Elizabeth; they haue also a fair Coat with this motto, '*God be our good guide*'" (*Londinopolis*, p. 42). The names of the first four consuls were Sir George Barnes,

twenty-four assistants, elected every year from "the most sad, discreete, and honest persons of the saide fellowship", formed the board of direction. A fixed fee, payable on admission, secured to any person who might wish to join the freedom of the association; but the risks were divided into shares, each member participating according to the amount of his contribution.[1] They had the right of imposing fines and penalties for any infringement of their statutes, and these became enforceable by law.

It is not our purpose to write an exhaustive history of the Russia Company, but merely glance at its affairs in the early period of its existence. Considering the important part taken by commerce in our first intercourse with Russia, some mention must be made of it, in order to enable the reader to follow the proceedings of Jenkinson and the other travellers whose narratives are given in the text.

Commerce entered largely into our first relations with Russia. It was to find new markets for English commodities that Willoughby's ships sailed

Sir William Garret (Gerrard), Aldermen of London; Anthony Hussey, and John Southcot.

[1] In later times, when the Company lost its monopoly of the Russian trade, and this was thrown open to all, the payment of a fee on admission constituted the whole obligation of its members. Their funds, chiefly raised by a small tax on articles of Russian produce imported into England, were then devoted entirely to the maintenance of chapels according to the rites of the English Episcopal Church at St. Petersburg and Mosco, and in defraying the salaries of the British consular agents. These, too, have lately been taken off their hands, so that the Company exists now merely by virtue of its funds accumulated in former years.

from our shores; Chancellor's accidental discovery of Russia led immediately to the formation of the Russia Company; while the journeys of Jenkinson, Southam, and Sparke, and other Englishmen, were chiefly directed towards the opening of new routes by which trade might pass.

It was originally intended that the benefits arising from this intercourse should be mutual.[1] Russian merchants were to have the same privileges and protection in England that Englishmen were to enjoy in Russia. But circumstances forbade this ever taking effect. The Russian merchant was a man of no education. He was a *mujik*, or boor, almost beneath the contempt of the military caste, of which Russia was, and still is, composed. The English merchant, on the other hand, belonged to the highest classes in the land, and was in every way superior to the Russian. But even if this obstacle to a free interchange had not existed, there were other causes to prevent the Russian merchant from engaging in commerce on equal terms with the English. Russians owned no ships fit to sail across the seas on long voyages; their only vessels were the two-masted *lodia*, used in the coasting trade, which carried large square sails for sailing before the wind, and twenty oars. Russians had no taste for a seafaring life, and understood nothing about nautical science; hence they could only export merchandise

[1] Philip and Mary to Ivan (*Cal. S. P.*, For., 1557, No. 595). *Cf. Cal. Cecil MSS.* p. 146, No. 547.

in foreign vessels, and these were chiefly English in the early years of the White Sea trade.

These circumstances appear in the first letter written by the Governors of the Russia Company to their agents in Russia, sent with the *John Evangelist* in 1557 :—

"Take heede howe you haue to doe with him (Napea) or with any such, and make your bargaines plaine and set them downe in writing. For they (the Russians) bee subtill people and doe not alwaies speake the trueth, and thinke other men to bee like themselues. Therefore we would haue none of them to send any goods in our shippes at any time nor none to come for passengers, vnlesse the Emperour doe make a bargaine with you as aforesaid, for his owne person." (*Hakl.*, 1599, i, 301.)

Hence the Russians, deterred from being on an equal footing with the English, remained in their own country, where they entertained these foreign guests[1] of the Tsar in a befitting manner. They helped them to establish factories, and supplied them with the products of their own country, receiving in exchange English goods or money.

But if the Russian people derived no benefit from the English trade, their sovereign undoubtedly did. It supplied him with warlike stores and ordnance, of which he stood greatly in need, to make head against his enemies, Poland and Sweden on the west, and the not less formidable Khan of the Crimea on the south. It was the only means of access he had to the arts of Western Europe, shut out as Russia

[1] "Korabelniye gosti": strictly speaking, naval guests.

then was from the seaboard of the Baltic by jealous enemies. It, moreover, afforded him a means of escape should his outraged subjects turn against their oppressor and drive him from the throne. Lastly, commerce with England secured for him an ally,—rather a lukewarm one, it must be admitted, but nevertheless one who might at all events refuse to join a league of the Western Powers against him. These considerations gave the Tsar a personal interest in the English trade, and induced him to renew over and over again privileges, the enjoyment of which, unaccompanied as they were by reciprocal advantages to his own people, were very one-sided. Englishmen were favoured in every way: their houses and lands were included in the *Opritchnina*, or reserved portion, as distinguished from the *Zemshina*,[1] or national portion,—two arbitrary divisions into which the Tsar, in one of his ferocious excesses, divided Russia. They paid no customs or tolls of any kind. They had liberty to pass through Russia and trade with Persia, Media, Bokhara, and other countries, without let or hindrance from the Tsar's officers, reserving only such wares as were necessary for the Imperial treasury, and with the obligation to sell and barter for the Tsar in Persia, etc. They might sell wholesale in any part of the country, or, if they chose, retail their wares at their house in Mosco; but they might not buy, sell, or barter on commission for any Russian merchant. These, and other privileges, placed the English nation on a

[1] See text, pp. 269, 270.

highly favoured footing; let us see how they profited by it.

The first agents of the Russia Company, Richard Gray and George Killingworth, afterwards joined by Henry Lane, had not been idle. By the year 1557 they had established three factories at Kholmogori, Vologhda, and Mosco. "And because we doe perceiue the countrey to be large, and that you have three households", write the Governors in that year, "we doe appoint Henry Lane to be one of our agents, and to joyne with you in all your doings, and to have like authoritie and power as you, George Killingworth and Richard Gray, haue . . . ."[1]

Kholmogori was the great resort of merchants in the north in those days, as Novgorod was in the south-west, and as the Island of Merchants was in the east before the taking of Kazan. To Kholmogori came the Lapps, the idol-worshipping Samoyedes with their reindeer sledges, the Karelians, the Russians, and the Tartars. They brought salt, stockfish, salmon, train oil, feathers, furs, and walrus-teeth from the shores of Lapland and Kola, from Pinega, Mezen, and Pechora, from Nova Zemlia and the distant Obi. These wares were carried by the Russians to Mosco and Novgorod, partly for home consumption, and partly to barter with the Dutch, who traded at Novgorod for cloth, tin, copper utensils, etc. Kholmogori was 100 versts, or about seventy miles, from the seaside, where the ships discharged. "Methinks", said the Russian chan-

[1] *Hakl.*, 1599, i, 298.

cellor to the English agents in 1555, "you shall do best to have your house at Colmogro, which is but 100 miles (versts) from the right discharge of the ships, and all our marchants shall bring all our marchandise to Colmogro to you."[1]

The establishment of the English at Kholmogori, and their annual voyages to the Dwina, gave an entirely new direction to the trade. Instead of being carried to Novgorod, the merchandise could be sold on the spot, warehoused till spring, and, with the opening of navigation, sent down the river in lighters to be loaded on the ships at St. Nicholas. Kholmogori, therefore, was the chief depot or factory of the Russia Company. Here were the residences of their agents, servants, and apprentices, their warehouses, offices, ropewalk, etc. "Colmogro", says Randolph, who visited it in 1568,

"is a greate towne builded all of wood, not walled, but scattered house from house. . . . . In this towne the Englishmen haue landes of their owne giuen them by the Emperour, and faire houses with offices for their commoditie very many." (Text, p. 245.)

Next in importance to Kholmogori came Vologhda, at the head of an upper tributary of the Dwina, 1,000 versts (about 700 miles) from Kholmogori, and united with it by a navigable water-way. Here the English had another house where they might buy and lay up wares for their ships in the event of the Russians not bringing enough to Kholmogori; the

[1] *Hakl.*, 1599, i, p. 264.

district round Vologhda producing hemp and flax in abundance.

"If our merchants do desire to know the meetest place of Russia for the standing house, in my opinion I take it to be Vologhda, which is a great towne standing in the heart of Russia, with many great and good towns about it. There is great plentie of corne, victuals, and of all such wares as are raised in Rusland, but specially flaxe, hempe, tallow, and bacon; there is also great store of waxe, but it commeth from the Mosko." (*Hakl.*, 1599, i, p. 257.)

Lastly, the Company had their house in Mosco, given them by the Tsar, on the Varvarka, in the Iushkof courtyard, near the church of St. Maxim, almost adjoining one inhabited by Nikita Romanof, grandfather of Mikhail Feodorovitch, first Tsar of the present dynasty. Mosco was not a good place of trade. Charges of living there were high, carriage from St. Nicholas (1,000 English miles) was expensive, and the Moscovites bore the reputation of being sharp in their dealings. But it was indispensable that the Company should have its representative at the Court, not only to provide the Emperor, who was himself a trader in wax and sables, with all such wares as he might require, but to keep a watchful eye on the movements of foreigners, and protect the interests of English merchants. Moreover, letters could be sent overland from Mosco, *viâ* Smolensk and Poland, to advise the Company in London of the state of their affairs, and what quantity and kind of goods should be shipped in the following spring. Letters of importance and secrecy sent this way were in cipher.

In the year 1557 the Russia Company sent its first large shipment of English cloths.

"You shall receiue out of the said good ships . . . . these kinds of wares following, all marked with the general marke of the Company as followeth: 25. fardels, containing 207. sorting clothes, one fine violet in graine and one skarlet, and 40. cottons for wrappers . . . . more, 500. pieces of Hampshire kersies, that is, 400. watchets, 43. blewes, 53. reds, 15. greenes, 5. ginger colours, and 2. yelowes, which cost the first penny 4.*li.* 6.*s.* the piece; & 3. packes containing 21. cottons at 9.*li.* 10.*s.* the packe. . . . . More, 9. barrels of Pewter of Thomas Hasels making, etc. . . . ." (*Hakl.*, 1599, i, 297.)

Their cargoes also consisted of sugar, tin, lead, copper, brimstone, etc.

Some idea of the prices realised for these wares may be formed by the letter of Christopher Hudson, an active agent of the Company during seven years in Mosco, Yaroslavl, Nijny Novgorod, and other places; he says it was not an uncommon thing to sell for double the cost price, or a profit of two hundred per cent.[1]

The exports from Russia at this time were wax, tallow, train oil, flax, a small quantity of linen yarn, a few furs,—viz., martens, minivers, and minkes,—cables, and ropes. Bulky articles, such as hemp and feathers, would not bear the high freight the Company were compelled to pay—£4 per ton. As for sables and rich furs, "they be not every man's money", write the Governors in 1557; and in a subsequent letter to their agents in 1567, they state that there had been a proclamation in England

[1] See *Hamel*, p. 126.

against wearing furs, and therefore they would have no more sent them.

Russian produce was sold in London at the following prices: flax at 28*s.* and 30*s.*; wax, £3 13*s.* 4*d.* to £4, and tallow, 18*s.* the cwt.; ox hides, 3*s.* 4*d.*, and elk hides, 6*s.* 8*d.* apiece; train oil, £10 the ton; yarn, 11*d.* the lb.; tarred ropes, 18*s*, and hemp, 12*s.* the cwt. In order to have a correct idea of their corresponding values at the present time, the above prices should be multiplied by six.

Notwithstanding the fair auspices under which the Russia Company started, its high patronage at home, the favour shown it by the Tsar, and the activity of some of its agents, like other privileged and favoured bodies, it was not free from abuses, and these nearly brought about its ruin. Stringent instructions were sent out to the agents for the regulation of their establishments, and the efficient control of the staff of salaried servants or clerks, and apprentices.

"Also we doe send you in these ships ten young men that be bound Prentises to the Company, whom we will you to appoynt euery of them as you shall there finde most apt and meete: some to keepe accompts, some to buy and sell by your order and commission, and some to send abroad into the notable cities of the countrey for vnderstanding and knowledge. And we will you send vs aduertisement from time to time as well of the demeanours of our Prentices which we doe send now, as also of such other as be already there with you. And if you finde any of them remisse, negligent, or otherwise misuse themselues, and will not be ruled, that then you doe send him home, and the cause why." (*Hakl.*, 1599, i, 299.)

Frequent complaints seem to have been made on this score. In 1567 the Governors write that the charges of housekeeping were double as much as they had been wont to be, and this caused them "to judge a riotousnes, remisnes, and idlenes of our servuntes"; they desired, therefore, Master Jenkinson and the agents "to make a frugall proportion of fare per man in every house, and a comandement to be giuen not to exceed", etc. They understood that their servants and stipendiaries were accustomed to give wine and meat to comers and goers to their houses; this was to be discontinued, for they knew it to be the custom of the country not to welcome with wine, "except we haue brought vp this corruption", they add; "therefore, if this typling be not left we will send no more wyne. . . ." Various other charges were brought against their employés of a more serious kind,—"if they do not amende, ship them home. . . ." And

"It is notorious what excesse of apparell and vtter countenance is vsed by our seruuntes; they ride and goe like lordes; therefore we desire you to reduce them to the vniformitie of apparell herewith prescribed . . . . if it be against the manner of that countrie, we will make it the manner rather than forbeare our money with losse to clothe them in veluets or silkes, or maintaine them to ride when we goe afoote. We will haue none of our prentises to ride in ye townes in any wise, and therefore lett the horses and mares be solde. . . . ." (Text, p. 214.)

But these were not the only abuses which embarrassed the Company. Their agents were not always loyal and trustworthy; they even intrigued with

the Dutch to overthrow the monopoly, and actually induced the Tsar to grant them separate privileges. To such a pass had affairs been brought by the peculations and dishonesty of Glover and his confederates, that Bannister and Duckett write to Cecil, in 1568: "If my Lord Imbassador (Randolph) and we had not come the holle trayde had bene vtterly ouerthrowen" (Text, p. 259). The jealousy excited among the States of Europe, as well as the hostility shown by Englishmen not belonging to the Company, were fruitful causes of trouble, and had it not been for the firm support given by the Tsar, and his predilection for an English marriage, it is probable that the privileges would have been taken away. This, at all events, is the opinion of Christopher Burrough, who wrote his views on the Russian trade in 1587.[1] Burrough recommends abolishing the monopoly and encouraging everyone to trade for himself, after the manner of the merchant adventurers; he was also in favour of closing the establishments at Mosco and other inland cities, and concentrating the business at the mouth of the Dwina, so as to put an end to the evils and corruptions which had grown up. Among his other suggestions was one, afterwards carried into practice, viz., that of having a "preacher"—*i.e.*, clergyman—to keep the younger members straight.

We have spoken of the first agents of the Company, but we must not omit mention of the Burrough brothers, Stephen and William. Stephen,

[1] See Supplementary Note.

father of Christopher, just referred to, sailed with Chancellor in his first voyage as master of his ship, the *Edward Bonaventure*, and, therefore, ranks among the discoverers of the northern coasts of Russia; he, too, explored the White Sea, Lapland, and Vaigats. William was also on board the *Edward Bonaventure* in 1553, serving under his brother as seaman, and afterwards rendered conspicuous services to the Company as captain of their fleets. It was by him that Jenkinson sent Cecil, in 1566, a present of "a strange beast called a Loysche", —*i.e.*, an elk; and he received the high commendations of Randolph in 1568. "To the Master . . . William of Borrowe, I am most beholdinge . . ." (Text, p. 256). William Burrough is the author, among other works, of a map, which is reproduced in this volume, showing the knowledge of the English, in his day, of the coasts of the White Sea.

Neither should Robert Best be passed over in this sketch, the "strong and willing Englishman", who offered to enter the lists as champion of the English cause in a trial at law, described by Henry Lane. His services as interpreter were useful to Napea, when shipwrecked off the Scottish coast, and to Jenkinson in Russia.

The house of the Russia Company was in Seething Lane.[1] Here they held their conferences and planned their expeditions to the north, north-east, and north-west,—for they claimed, and for a long

[1] Sir Francis Walsingham, the celebrated diplomatist in Elizabeth's time, had his residence in Seething Lane.

time maintained, their right to be the sole pioneers of English commerce and colonisation in the northern parts of the world. When Narva fell into the hands of Russia, and Englishmen not belonging to the Company began trading thither, the Company pleaded that it was an interference with their monopoly, and proceeded to exercise the extensive rights conceded to them in their charter, by seizing the persons of such traders and imprisoning them, as well as by confiscating their property. They themselves opened a trade with Narva, but this was distinct from that with the White Sea, and they desired the agents to keep the accounts separate (Text, p. 218).

The Russia Company, apart from its commercial affairs, exercised great influence over the diplomatic intercourse between Russia and England. Its agents were frequently charged with important political commissions to the Tsar, and their expenses were mostly defrayed by the Company.[1] Richard Eden, secretary to Sir William Cecil, in the preface to his translation of Cortes's *Arte of Navigation*, which appeared in 1561, alluding to the importance of a knowledge of navigation to such as undertook long journeys in unknown and strange countries, adds, "as dyd of late Master Ienkynson, a worthye gentleman, sette foorthe by you and mainteyned at your charges, more lyke an Ambassatoure sente from anye Prince or Emperour then from a companye of marchaunt men",—referring to his first journey to Central Asia, for afterwards he was

[1] See page lix.

actually commissioned by Her Majesty, whilst he at the same time represented the Company. Before the despatch of an envoy, it was usual for the Company to draw up a memorandum of the points on which it was particularly desirable that he should treat. This was submitted to Cecil, and served as a guide for the final instructions.

Queen Elizabeth herself paid great attention to the affairs of the Russia Company, among the members of which were some of her highest dignitaries and noblemen. Indeed, the preference shown by her for mercantile affairs over what he deemed to be far weightier matters of state, made the Tsar exceedingly angry, and he took no pains to conceal it. Having withdrawn the privileges of the English, he wrote to the Queen :—

"And wee had thought that you had beene ruler ouer your lande, and had sought honnor to your self and proffitt to your countrie, and therefore wee did pretend those weightie affaires between you and vs. But now wee perceiue that there be other men that doe rule, and not men but bowers and marchaunts, the wich seeke not the wealth and honnor of our maiesties, but they seeke their owne proffitt of marchandize." (*Infra*, p. 296.)

The Tsar's great grievances were, that the Queen had not availed herself of his offers of friendship, and had not complied with his requests for a secret treaty, communicated through Jenkinson. He had offered her perpetual friendship and kinship; he wished her to enter into an offensive and defensive league against all enemies; and to join him in

making war against the King of Poland, who had shown his jealousy of the English intercourse with Russia. He had asked her for shipwrights and mariners, "maisters wich can make shippes and sayle them"; and to allow all kinds of artillery and war munition to be exported from England for his use. But what he required her to swear to perform was, that should either sovereign be obliged to leave his or her kingdom, the other would afford protection and hospitality. Finally, he desired that her answer might be sent by some person of high rank, not later than St. Peter's Day, the 29th June, in the ensuing year. It was not easy for Elizabeth to comply with these requests, however much she might desire to retain the Tsar's good graces, for the sake of her merchants. She could not, even if she felt it, show distrust towards her people, whom she believed to be loyally disposed towards herself, by entering into any such obligation; neither would her treaties with other Powers—treaties which she had inherited from her predecessors on the throne—allow her to contract an offensive and defensive alliance with the Tsar of Russia. In Randolph's instructions he is desired to confine himself to general expressions of good-will; and as to the secret treaty, to say that the Queen thought Jenkinson must have misunderstood his meaning, for that all she had heard of his state led her to believe Ivan to be a powerful and wise prince. Nevertheless, Randolph was desired to sound him on the subject, and learn his mind.

The Tsar expected Jenkinson, to whom he had secretly and confidentially explained his views, to return the following year with the "great ambassador" he had desired should be sent. But no tidings of our traveller reached him, and his disappointment knew no bounds. Manley and Middleton, two messengers sent overland on the Company's business, were searched for papers and questioned. But they knew nothing of Jenkinson's movements, and could give the Tsar no satisfactory answer, having been only told to say that in the spring of the year a special ambassador would come. The reason assigned by the Queen, in a later letter, for not having sent Jenkinson in 1568, was that his services were at that time being used against her enemies, *Eum ad vos hactenus non remissimus quod ejus opera adversus hostes terra marique utebamur*"; and Jenkinson himself states, at his interview with the Tsar on the 23rd March 1571-2, that the cause of his not being sent was that he was "imployed in seruice vpon the Seas against the Queenes enemies". There is nothing in the State papers to show in what particular service he was employed,—unless, indeed, he was engaged in his old ship the *Ayde*, or in the *Swallow*, fighting the Spaniards; for an engagement is recorded to have taken place in 1568 between three of the Queen's ships, the *Swallow*, the *Ayde*, and the *Phœnix*, with a barque, the *Antelope*, and fourteen Spanish hulks, eight of which were captured and brought into the Thames by Admiral Holstock.[1] But whatever the cause,

[1] Holinshed's *Chronicle*, p. 1211.

Jenkinson did not go to Russia in 1568, and the negotiations passed into the hands of Thomas Randolph,[1] a skilful diplomatist, though inexperienced in Russian affairs.

Randolph was well versed in the arts of diplomacy. He had been Queen Elizabeth's confidential agent for several years at the court of Mary of Scotland, and had shown great skill in maintaining his position there, in spite of the part he had been called upon to play. The imprisonment of Mary, and the ascendency gained by the reformed party of Scottish nobles, no longer rendered Randolph's presence necessary in Scotland, and he was, therefore, available for other service. Randolph, who held the office of Master of the Queen's posts, a title in those days probably honorary, was accompanied to Russia by George Turberville,[2] his secretary, and two merchants, Thomas Bannister and George Duckett, who were to advise him on all matters concerning the Russia Company, whose affairs were then in a critical position owing to the disloyalty of their agents, Glover, Rutter, Bennet, and Chappell. They embarked on board the *Harry*, at Harwich, on the 22nd June, and landed at St. Nicholas, after a prosperous voyage, on the 23rd July. Randolph

[1] Randolph was born at Badlesmere, in Kent. He studied at Christchurch, Oxford, and became Principal of Pembroke College. Many of his letters, relating chiefly to the affairs of Scotland, are preserved in the State Paper Office.

[2] Turberville wrote his impressions of Russia in verse.—See *Notes upon Russia*, edited by Mr. Major for the Hakluyt Society, vol. i, pp. cxlix-clvi.

paid a visit to the monastery, and describes his entertainment by the monks, whose intemperate habits and superstition he condemns. A journey by boat of five weeks brought him to Vologhda, whence he posted to Mosco (500 miles), crossing the Volga at Yaroslavl, where he saw a barque of twenty-seven tons burden, built by the English for their newly opened trade to Persia. The embassy reached Mosco about the end of September; but here they were made to feel the displeasure of the Tsar. Though lodged in a house built specially for ambassadors, they were allowed neither to go out nor to receive visitors, and no complaint or prayer obtained them any relaxation in the strictness of their imprisonment. The Tsar, in excusing to Elizabeth his discourteous treatment of Randolph, attributes it to the ambassador's own stubbornness, for refusing to enter upon the subject of his mission with his counsellors before he had seen him; but Count Tolstoi, in his review of the early intercourse between England and Russia, explains it by the anxiety of Ivan to conceal from Randolph the real state of Mosco, which was almost daily the scene of his terrible executions. At length Randolph received word that the Tsar would receive him on the 20th February; and on this day the two pristafs, or officers appointed to attend upon them, appeared in gorgeous apparel, and mounted their own horses to conduct the ambassador to the palace. But he was obliged to hire a horse, while his retinue had to submit to the indignity of following on foot.

Yet another insult was in store for Randolph. In a large hall, passed through by him before reaching the audience-chamber, sat a number of grave-looking personages, sumptuously clad, who took no notice of his salute. This affront, however, the proud Englishman would not brook, so he covered his head and walked up to the place where the Tsar awaited him. Everyone expected to see the monarch break out into a paroxysm of rage at so audacious an act, but, on the contrary, he received Randolph with kindness, and assured him of his friendship for the Queen. From this time Randolph had nothing to complain of in the way he was treated: a magnificent repast was sent to his lodging, his allowance was increased, and he was received at private audiences by the Tsar, who conversed with him freely on the subject of his embassy, and commended to his care one of his noblemen, Andrew Savin, whom he appointed as his ambassador to England.

The correspondence of Bannister and Duckett shows how high an opinion they entertained of the Russian trade, and what its future might be could they only establish it on a sound footing and place the management in trustworthy hands. For the traitors had not only undermined the confidence of the Tsar in the integrity of the Company, and procured for themselves precisely the same privileges that had formerly been granted to it, but they had joined their rivals, the Dutch, who were trying to gain an ascendency over the English merchants, in which they eventually succeeded.[1] It is curious to find an

[1] *Cf.* Lindsay's *History of Merchant Shipping*, iii, p. 164.

allusion in this correspondence to an idea entertained by the Tsar, of having an English body-guard about his person, though nothing further appears to have been done in this matter.[1]

Randolph's mission resulted in the renewal of the privileges previously granted to the Company. Their monopoly was restored; they were allowed to trade in all parts of Russia, and pass through it to Persia, Cathay, and other countries customs free, without payment of toll or any other imposition, the only reservation being their obligation to bring their finest wares to the Tsar's treasury, in order that a selection might be made of what was needed for his use, and to undertake the sale or barter of any goods for him. The possession of their houses and factories in Mosco and elsewhere was confirmed to them, and these were taken out of the *Zemshina*, or national part, and placed under the jurisdiction of the *Opritchnina*, or reserved portion; proving that the Tsar regarded the intercourse with England as peculiarly his own affair, apart from the nation. Various other privileges were granted to them, including the right of coining money at Mosco, Novgorod, and Pskof. No English merchant was to be allowed to trade with Narva or Ivangorod without the Queen's leave, under penalty of forfeiting his ship; but other foreigners might freely come to Livonia.

[1] But the false Dmitri, who usurped the throne upon the death of Boris Godunof, is said to have had a foreign body-guard, some of whom were English soldiers. (Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, ed. 1625, vol. iii, p. 762.)

With these privileges Randolph returned to England in the autumn of 1569, upon the whole well satisfied with his mission. He was accompanied by Savin, by whom the Tsar wrote to the Queen, explaining his reasons for having kept Randolph waiting so long for an audience, and interceding with her for the guilty merchants, Glover, Rutter, and Bennet. Savin was, moreover, the bearer of further instructions regarding the secret treaty. He was to insist upon its being written in Russ, word for word according to the copy sent; and that the Queen should kiss the cross in the presence of his ambassador, and affix her seal to the document. Lastly, the Tsar required that Anthony Jenkinson should be sent by the Queen with her great ambassador in commission.

Elizabeth appointed some of the lords of her Privy Council to confer with Savin. Their conference lasted nearly a year, from July 1569 to May 1570, but led to no result. The English declared that, before engaging England in the wars of the Tsar with his enemies, the Queen should assure herself of the justice of these wars, and try to put an end to them by mediation. Savin, on the other hand, insisted that the Queen should sign the treaty as drawn up, and refused to enter into any discussion as to the good faith or justice of his master's acts. Matters being in this state, he urged, on the 6th May 1570, that he should be allowed to depart, and wrote to Cecil with final requests as to the treaty, and requiring that Jenkinson might return to

Russia with him and with the Queen's great ambassador, to exchange ratifications.

Savin returned to Russia, in the summer of 1570, without Jenkinson, absent at that time (Tolstoi thinks purposely) from London. With him went Daniel Sylvester, who had been his interpreter in England, and who was now entrusted with a letter for the Tsar (dated at Hampton Court, May 18, 1570) and the draft of a treaty, in which the Queen promised to afford Ivan protection and hospitality if he should be driven out of his dominions.

Savin's embassy had not been a success: he had failed to obtain what the Tsar wanted; and to excuse himself, he complained of the way he had been received in England. These ill-founded complaints he committed to writing, and by these means produced a bad feeling against the English. Ivan was furious, and had no longer any command over himself. In his letter, dated the 24th October 1570, he taunts the Queen with "her maidenly estate" and being ruled by "boorish merchants". He concludes by saying:

"seeinge it is so, wee doo sett aside those affaires; and those bourishe marchaunts that haue beene the occasion that the pretended welthes and honors of our Maiesties hath not come to passe, but seeke their owne wealthes, they shall see what traffique they shall haue here . . . And the priuiledge that wee gaue to your marchaunts . . . wee will giue commaundement that nothing shalbe donne by it. And all those priuiledges wich wee haue giuen aforetime be from this daie of none effect."

This letter was brought to England by Daniel Sylves-

ter in the winter of 1570, and confirmed the report that had reached the Russia Company, that not only had their privileges been annulled, but that all their property had been seized. In consequence of this, Robert Best was despatched to Russia, through Sweden, with a letter from the Queen, dated the 24th January 1571. Elizabeth assured the Tsar in it that Savin could not have been treated more honourably, and requested that permission might be given to her subjects to trade as before.

The state of Russia must have been frightful at this time. The plague, to which allusion has been made, had been followed by a famine, and the people were reduced to such straits that they had recourse to human flesh to satisfy the cravings of hunger. It was in consequence of these reports of a famine that the Russia Company decided to ship corn to Russia in 1571, probably the only instance of the importation of this article of food. To crown all these calamities, the Krim Tartars, under their Khan, Devlet Ghirei, invaded Russia and burnt Mosco. Jenkinson, who proceeded to Russia in the summer of 1571, mentions these events in a letter to Cecil, dated from Kholmogori, the 8th August of the same year.[1] The Queen, in her letter dated in May or June, understands that the Tsar is dissatisfied, and therefore

[1] This letter has been reproduced in *facsimile*, by permission of the officials at the Record Office, to whose courtesy in assisting him in these researches the writer takes this opportunity of returning his thanks.

she sends her "Orator and seruant, dear to and beloued by vs, Anthony Ienkinson", who had been employed in the greatest and most secret affairs. He would explain all things, and tell the Tsar most truly that "no merchants gouern our country, but we rule it ourselues in manner befitting a Virgin Queen, appointed by the great and good God." And she concludes by asking that the privileges may be restored to her subjects, and that the Tsar will show them the same regard as he had done for the last twenty years.

On the 26th July 1571 Jenkinson arrived at St. Nicholas with the two ships, the *Swallow* and the *Harry*, and on landing at Rose Island, immediately sent away his interpreter, Daniel Sylvester, to Mosco, to inform the Tsar of his coming, and to know his pleasure. At Rose Island he heard from the Company's agent, Nicholas Proctor, that the Tsar was much displeased with him, and that he had said that if Jenkinson ventured into his country again, he should lose his head. Not a little dismayed by this discouraging news, Jenkinson debated with himself whether he should go forward or return home with the ships. Feeling innocent of any just cause of offence, and desirous of being tried, in order to silence the enemies who had spread untrue and slanderous reports that he was the cause of the Emperor's displeasure towards the merchants, though the Tsar's letter brought by Daniel Sylvester disproved their assertion, Jenkinson nevertheless decided on placing his life in the power of the tyrant, and proceeding with

his mission. Accordingly, he took leave of the ships, and started on the 29th July for Kholmogori, arriving there on the 1st August. Here he was obliged to remain: for, in consequence of the plague, every road was guarded, and no one might pass, under penalty of death. Here he learned, through the Governor of Vologhda, that Sylvester had been stopped at Shatsk, and could neither go forward nor return, nor communicate with him. The Tsar, it was reported, had gone to the Swedish frontier to prepare for war; but this was a piece of bravado on the part of Ivan, who was powerless to take the field against an enemy, with his country in so desperate a condition. Jenkinson now tried sending another messenger to the Tsar by a circuitous route; but he fared no better than the first, narrowly escaping being burnt for attempting to force the cordon drawn round the infected districts.

Till the 18th January Jenkinson remained at Kholmogori, receiving, in the meantime, every sign of the Tsar's displeasure. No officer was commanded to see to his wants, and no allowance was made to him, as was the custom of the country for ambassadors. The people, too, seeing that he was in disfavour, showed him every discourtesy, refusing even to supply him with provisions at any price. But at length the plague ceased, and, communications being restored, an order came from Mosco that he should have post-horses and be allowed to proceed to Pereslavl, where he arrived on the 3rd February. Here a

house was appointed for him, and an allowance of provisions; but he was so strictly guarded that he was prevented from holding communication with any of the English.[1] On the 14th March he was summoned to court, but, when within three miles of Alexandrofsky Sloboda,[2] a messenger was sent to the officer in charge of him to return to Pereslavl, and await there his Majesty's pleasure. This sudden change seemed to him most inauspicious, particularly as it was generally known that the Tsar had been very unsuccessful in his affairs. On the 20th March, however, he was again sent for, and on the 23rd was admitted to an audience of the Tsar, when he kissed hands and presented the Queen's letters and gifts, and made his oration. He also presented some small gifts from himself,—a silver basin and ewer, a looking-glass, and a bunch of ostrich feathers. The Tsar then dismissed everyone from the room, and spoke to Jenkinson alone. He recited the various incidents which had occurred since Anthony's last visit to Russia, including Randolph's embassy, alleging that the Queen had broken her agreement made through Randolph for a treaty to be concluded between them. Jenkinson then answered fully the various points of the Tsar's speech, explaining why he had not been sent with the embassy of Randolph, whose conduct in refusing to treat with the Tsar's councillors before seeing

[1] This is the only mention of Englishmen being at Pereslavl.

[2] Alexandrof, now the chief town of the government of Vladimir.

the Tsar himself he defended. As to the alleged agreement with Randolph, the latter had denied having entered into any obligation, saving with the approval of the Queen, and had justified himself to Savin in England. Therefore, continued Jenkinson, either Savin had falsely informed the Tsar, or there had been a misunderstanding, owing to the fault of the interpreter. He referred the Tsar to the Queen's letter, sent by Robert Best, for a true statement of the way his ambassador, Savin, had been received; and said that the Queen supposed that the Tsar's mind had been prejudiced by Savin's false reports, and the evil doings of the traitorous English agents; for he assured him that the merchants of England were always ready to serve him in peace or in war, and had brought him, by way of Narva, such commodities as were not allowed to be exported to any other country in the world. He spoke of the losses sustained by the Russia Company, recalled to his memory the defeat of the Polish freebooters by their ships in 1570, and requested him to restore their privileges and allow them to trade as heretofore. He also begged that Ralph Rutter, and other dishonest agents, who were trying to sow dissension between the two courts, might be delivered to him, to be sent home. All this the Tsar promised to consider after he had read the Queen's letters; but that, as it was now Passion Week, a time devoted to prayer and fasting, he must reserve his reply; moreover, he was shortly to proceed to Novgorod, about his affairs with Sweden, and

could not give Jenkinson an immediate answer. Thereupon a dinner, ready dressed, was sent to Jenkinson's lodgings, and the next day he received the Tsar's commands to depart immediately for Tver, and await his arrival.

Jenkinson reached Tver on the 28th March, but it was not till May 8th that he received the Tsar's commands to repair to Staritsa, a town about fifty miles from Tver. At Staritsa he had an interview, on the 12th May, with the Chief Secretary, who told him that the Tsar's orders were that he should communicate, in writing, any requests he might have to make on behalf of the merchants. This, after a long conference, Jenkinson did, and handed to the Secretary sixteen articles. From these, it is evident that the merchants had been hardly dealt with during the time they were under the Tsar's displeasure. Justice had not been done them; debts due to them had not been paid; Bannister and Duckett had not been allowed to prosecute their journey beyond Astrakhan; and customs had been levied on the merchandise of the Company imported from Persia, notwithstanding their privilege of free transit. These, and several other matters, were the substance of Jenkinson's articles. On the following day, 13th May, Jenkinson had a second interview of the Tsar, who told him that he was now well satisfied that the chief cause of his offence lay in the failure of Savin's embassy to accomplish his wishes, and the misconduct of the Company's factors. As to his "princely & secret affaires", he

had decided to lay them aside for the time, and not importune the Queen any further. He would restore the Company to its privileges and liberties, and make a proclamation throughout his empire to this effect. "And if the Queen", he added, "had not sent thee, Anthony, vnto vs at this present, God knoweth what we should haue done to the said merchants, or whether we would haue called backe our indignation." Finally, the Tsar dismissed him, with a courteous message to the Queen, in delivering which he stood up and took off his cap, bidding his son do the same. The next day, full replies were given Jenkinson, by the Secretary, to his requests, and a letter to the Queen, in which the Tsar informed her that he had taken the merchants back into favour, and would give them a new charter. Jenkinson asked that his interpreter, Daniel Sylvester, might remain behind, to collect the debts due to the Company, and receive the new privileges. This, however, was not permitted, and Jenkinson was obliged to leave without them. But from Vologhda he sent a messenger to the Tsar at Novgorod, to remind him that the privileges had not been received, and that Ralph Rutter, whose extradition he had demanded, might be sent to the coast. At Kholmogori he remained a month, in the expectation of the return of his messenger, and at length, the ships being ready to depart, he set sail on the 23rd July, arriving on the coast of Norfolk on the 10th September.

This was Jenkinson's last visit to Russia, where

his services had been of the greatest use to his Queen and country. He had, by conciliating the good-will of the Tsar and his people, and by unswerving honesty and tenacity of purpose, gained respect for the English name. He had vindicated his character from the aspersions thrown on it by some of his countrymen. His slanderers were silenced; his triumph was complete. For fifteen years he had devoted most of his time to the intercourse between England and Russia. From May 1557, when he first sailed to Russia in the *Primrose*, to September 1572, when he returned to England from his last mission to that country, he had been, with two intervals,—one in 1565, when he was employed on the *Ayde* for a few months, and the second from 1567 to 1571, during which we nearly lose sight of him,—continually engaged, in a public and private capacity, in fostering good relations and peaceful intercourse between the two countries. He had sown the seed for future generations to reap the benefits. "And thus", he concludes, "being wearie, and growing old, I am content to take my rest in mine owne house, chiefly comforting my selfe in that my seruice hath bene honourably accepted and rewarded of her Maiesty, and the rest by whom I haue been emploied."

We must now take leave of Jenkinson in his public capacity, and present to the reader the few details which we have gleaned of his private life. These relate almost entirely to his later years, for there is nothing to throw light on his earlier history,

beyond the few particulars he himself gives of his travels in Europe and the East, previous to his first voyage to Russia. In his interview with the Shah he describes himself thus: "vnto whom I answered that I was of the famous citie of London, within the noble realme of England" (Text, p. 145). In the grant of arms (*infra*) he is described as "citizen of London", and in the *Herald's Visitation* (*ib.*) as "citizen and mercer".

The materials for his life are, it must be confessed, somewhat scanty. Such notices of him as are to be found in biographical dictionaries refer mostly to his travels, and but few touch upon his personal history. Where they do, they are generally at fault. Thus, in Ersch's *Encyclopedia*[1] Jenkinson is described as coming from a Yorkshire family. In another work[2] he is represented as the ancestor of that branch of the Jenkinson family which settled at Walcot, near Charlbury, in Oxfordshire, and which included among its members the famous Lord Liverpool, Prime Minister of England from 1812-27.[3] According to this authority, our traveller, after returning to England, settled in London in the decline of his life, and with the considerable fortune he had acquired, purchased an estate in houses, besides the family mansion and estate in Oxfordshire.

[1] *Algemeine Encyclopedie*, Ersch and Grueber.

[2] *The Ancient Family of Carlyle.* London, 1822.

[3] The present representative of this family is Sir George Jenkinson, Bart., of Hawkesbury, Gloucestershire.

The discovery of Anthony Jenkinson's will, however, at the Wills Office, Somerset House, was the first important clue to his personal history, and has thrown a new light upon it, dispelling much of the obscurity by which it had hitherto been surrounded. In this document (dated in 1610) he is described of Ashton, in Northamptonshire, and mention is made in it of Sywell, in the same county. A search in the Sywell parish registers disclosed some further facts relating to him. Here are recorded the baptisms and burials of some of his children and grandchildren, affording sufficient proofs of his having resided at Sywell for some years during the latter part of his life.

Of his parentage and birth we have been unable to discover any trace. The registers at St. Botolph's, Aldersgate Street, where his house was situate, do not go further back than the year 1666; and those of St. Alphage's, which are as old as 1538, and where Sir Rowland Hayward, a governor of the Russia Company in Jenkinson's time, was buried,[1] have been searched in vain. It was the custom in those times to send young men intending to follow the profession of a merchant to the Levant, to prepare for a mercantile career, and it is probable that Chancellor and Gray both passed their apprenticeship there.[2] Jenkinson's earlier travels, begun in 1546, were undertaken with that object. In 1555 he was admitted a member of the Mercers' Company *by redemption*

[1] *Remembrancia, City of London*, p. 37, note 3.

[2] See Arber's *First Three English Books on America*, p. xvii.

gratis,—that is to say, without any fine being paid. The Mercers' Company, the most ancient of the trading companies, took precedence of all, and numbered on its rolls many of the leading citizens, Queen Elizabeth, even, having enrolled herself as a member; the words *mercer* and *merchant* becoming, as commerce extended, synonymous.[1] Between the Mercers, or Merchants of the Staple, and the Merchant Adventurers, from whom the Muscovy Company originated, there was a close bond of union; hence there is no difficulty in tracing Jenkinson's connection with the last-named company, among whose members were John Marsh, also a mercer, Sir John Gresham, elder brother of Sir Thomas, and others.

In 1557, as we have seen, Anthony Jenkinson, who had already acquired a good reputation as a traveller, proceeded to Russia for the Muscovy Company, on a fixed salary of £40 per annum for three years, and with the special object of discovering a new route to Cathay.

The next event in his private life which is recorded is his marriage with Judith, daughter of John Marsh. The *Herald's Visitation of London*, in which it occurs, was taken in 1568, and this may probably be assigned as the year of the marriage; for the names of two daughters, Alice and Mary, which appear on the record, may have been added subsequently. Through his wife, Jenkinson became connected with the Greshams, her mother, whose name was Alice, being a daughter of William Gresham,

[1] *Life and Times of Sir T. Gresham*, vol. i, p. 185.

cousin of Sir Thomas, by whom Marsh is referred to in his correspondence as "my cousin Marsh".[1] John Marsh, or Mershe, came of an old Northamptonshire family, mentioned in Rymer's *Fœdera*. He probably succeeded Mr. Hussey as governor of the Merchant Adventurers, and his name occurs among others at the foot of the document, testifying to the handsome reception given to the first Russian ambassador in England in 1557.[2] He was afterwards governor of the company of merchants trading to the Netherlands, and he is referred to in the State papers in connection with affairs in that country.

The year 1568, which was probably that of Jenkinson's marriage, was also marked by the grant of arms conferred upon him, a copy of which is given below (*infra*, p. c). This document, after a preamble setting forth that the bearing of arms was a chief and usual way of perpetuating the memory of the brave deeds and deserts of such as have done good service to their prince and country, and advanced the common weal; and after reciting that Anthony Jenkinson was amongst the number of these, for "he hath not fearyd to adventure and hazard his life, and to weare his body with long and paynfull traveyll into dyvers and sundry contreys", etc., proceeds: "In consideracion of which his said traveyll, tending always to the honor of his prince and countrey (a p[er]fect proof of his vertue and prowesse), and for a perpetuall

[1] Cf. *Life and Times of Sir T. Gresham*, vol. ii, p. 64.

[2] *Hakl.*, 1599, vol. i, p. 290.

declaration of the worthynesse of the said Anthony Ienkinson, we, the kings of armes, etc., have assigned, gyven, and grauntyd vnto the sayde Anthony Ienkynson these armes and creast following."

From his father-in-law Jenkinson acquired by purchase the estate of Sywell, in Northamptonshire, where he resided for several years during the latter part of his life.

"In the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII (1543), the manor, grange, and advowson of Sywell, late parcel of the possessions of St. Andrew's Priory, were granted to John Mershe,[1] and by him afterwards sold to Anthony Jenkinson, Esq., who, in the twentieth year of Elizabeth (1578), levied a fine of them."[2]

Jenkinson's house, before he settled at Sywell, was in Aldersgate Street, as appears from the Close Rolls. The first of these relating to him is a mortgage, by one Alexander Richworth, of some property in Yorkshire, in the twelfth year of Elizabeth (1570). In the usual proviso of redemption inserted at the end of this deed, the mortgagor has to pay "vnto the said Anthony Jenkinson the some of one hundred pounds of lawfull money of England, on the tenth daie of Nouember next com'yng after the date hereof, *at the nowe dwelling house of the said Anthony Jenkynson, set and being at Aldersgate Strete, in the suburbes of the cytie of London*, betweene the houres of one and foure of the clocke in the afternoone."[3]

[1] The name of Marsh is well known at the present day in Holcot, an adjoining parish to Sywell.

[2] Bridge's *Northampton*, by Whalley, vol. ii, p. 147.

[3] *Close Rolls*, 12 Eliz.

"Aldersgate Street in the suburbs" meant without the city wall, a part which was then, or soon afterwards became, a fashionable quarter.

A work on old London, by William Newton,[1] accompanied by a plan, shows plainly the condition of this part of the city about Jenkinson's time. The Alders gate, the oldest entrance, stood on the north side; from it ran Aldersgate Street, in a northerly direction, terminating at Aldersgate Bars. The whole of the street, which was without the city wall, and therefore in the suburbs, was flanked on either side by fine houses, having gardens or orchards at the back. Near the gate was Little Britain, so named after the Dukes of Brittany, who once lodged there. This was formerly a cluster of narrow lanes and courts, partly belonging to Cloth Fair.[2] It is impossible to say where the house of our traveller stood; but the whole neighbourhood teems with memories of the early Merchant Adventurers.

The year of Jenkinson's removal to Sywell can only be approximately fixed between 1570 and 1578, or, rather, between 1572—when he returned from his last voyage to Russia—and 1578. After this he made no more distant journeys, and was content, as he himself says in summarising his travels, to take his rest in his own house. That he was residing at Sywell in 1578 is proved by a Close Roll of that year

[1] *London in the Olden Time*, 1855, p. 75.

[2] See Washington Irving's *Sketch-Book*.

concerning him, purporting to be a mortgage of an estate, the Tower of the Lee, in the parish of Gushops Castle, in Shropshire. In this deed the mortgagor agrees to pay the redemption money, one hundred and forty-three pounds, "at or within the *nowe manc'on howse of the said Anthonye Jenkynson, Esquier, scytuate in Sywell.*"[1]

The village of Sywell, about eight miles from Northampton, lies in a hollow, a quarter of a mile from Lord Overstone's park. It was entirely rebuilt by the late Lady Overstone, and contains some fifty houses of a class decidedly superior to those generally occupied by labourers. The church, dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul, and dating from the time of King John, has been restored under the supervision of the present rector, the Rev. Robert Baillie, who has studied to preserve the more interesting points of the ancient building. Not far from the church stands Sywell Hall, a fine old mansion with mullioned windows and gabled roofs, some four centuries old. Archæologists have traced in the original design the idea of the architect to build it in the shape of the letter E, parts of which are now wanting, and would therefore fix the reign of Elizabeth as the period of its construction. But there are indications of its being of much older date, and of its having belonged to the family of Sir William Tresham, who represented the county in six parliaments in the reign of Henry VI. In such case Jenkinson probably occupied another manor-house,

[1] *Close Roll*, 20 Eliz., part 3.

mentioned by Bridges,[1] remains of which are occasionally turned up in ploughing an adjoining field.

An examination of the registers at Sywell resulted in the discovery of several entries concerning our traveller. The first of these occurs in 1579, and reads as follows :—

"Judeth Jenkensõne, the doughter of Mr. Anthony Jenkensõne, Esquier, & Jane Jenkensonne, his doughter, also war baptized the ffirste day of October 1579."

This evidently refers to two, probably twin, daughters, who died in infancy, and were buried on the 21st October of the same year.

The next entry is the baptism of a son—

"Anthony Jenkensonne, the sonne of Mr. Anthony Jenkensoñe, esquier, was baptyzed the xi day of Marche, Año Doñ 1580."

He, too, died in infancy, though his burial is not in the register; but two years later another son was born, also named Anthony, showing the endeavour to perpetuate a name which had become famous. The record is as follows :—

"Anthony Jenkensonne, the sonne of Mr. Anthony Jenkensoñe, was baptyzed the xx day of Julye, Año Doñ 1582."

There are no further entries of our traveller's children in the Sywell registers; but the baptisms of three grandchildren appear there—two sons and a daughter of Henry Jenkinson—namely, Henry, baptised in 1593; William, in 1596; and Mary, in 1598,—all three mentioned in their grandfather's will.

[1] *Hist. of Northampton*, ii, 147.

Another glimpse of our traveller at Sywell is obtained in a Close Roll of the year 1583,[1] when he purchased the wood and underwood called *Gorton Groyle*, adjoining his estate.

A few more particulars concerning Jenkinson's public life are afforded by the State papers. In 1576 he is appointed one of three commissioners (the other two being Sir William Winter and Michael Lock) to consider upon all matters requisite for the furniture and despatch of Mr. Frobisher on a second voyage to Cathay.[2] Jenkinson's name, as well as those of Thomas Randolph, Lord Burghley, and Sir Francis Walsingham, appear among the venturers in Frobisher's second and third voyages to Cathay, in 1576 and 1577.[3] In 1577 he is sent with Daniel Rogers on a special mission to Embden, to treat with the King of Denmark's commissioners on the right of England to navigate the northern seas beyond Norway. This King, like the other potentates of Europe, was exceedingly jealous and displeased at the newly opened English trade with Russia, and denied their right to sail past the coasts of Norway, which then belonged to the Crown of Denmark, on their way to the White Sea. He also sought to impose tolls on English ships passing through the Sound to the Baltic, on their way to Narva, founding his claims on an old treaty

[1] *Close Roll*, 25 Eliz., pt. 9.

[2] *Cal. S. P.*, E. Ind., 1513-1616, p. xiii.

[3] *Cal. S. P.*, Col. E. Ind., pp. 18, 24, 29; *Frobisher's Three Voyages* (Hakl. Soc.), pp. 348, 352.

made between former kings of the two countries. He wished to interpret this treaty according to the strict and literal meaning of the words, which appear to have excluded the English from sailing their ships between Iceland and Helgeland. The Queen replied that no such prohibition was ever intended by that or any other treaty, and prayed the King to appoint commissioners to meet hers and discuss the whole matter. The commissioners met, but could come to no agreement, and the matter remained in suspense three or four years, till another conference was arranged, when a fresh treaty was concluded, by which the King agreed to suffer the traffic to continue, receiving, in consideration of this concession, the annual sum of one hundred rose-nobles, payable to him at Elsinore.

In 1578 we find Jenkinson associated with Randolph on the commission appointed to report on the ore brought to England in Frobisher's ships,[1] which had been assayed at Muscovy House. This is the last occasion that any mention of him is made in the State papers, but the recollection of his good deeds long survived his retirement from active life; thus, we find him referred to in a notice of the trade to the Levant.[2]

The last act of his life, when he was no longer able to write his name, was the making of his will. In this document, dated 13th November 1610, he

[1] *Cal. S. P.*, Col. E. Ind., No. 89.

[2] *Hakl.*, 1599, ii, p. 136.

describes himself of Ashton,[1] in the county of Northants. But we have seen that he was residing at Sywell till the year 1598, from the baptism of one of his grandchildren appearing in the parish register under that year. When, therefore, did he remove to Ashton, and for what cause? These are questions we are wholly unable to answer; nor is there any monument at Ashton which could throw any light on the subject. The Rev. Cavendish Neely, son of the present rector of that parish, of whom inquiry was made, obligingly wrote in reply that there is a manor-house in the village, and that after having served as a farm-house for many years, it is now made into several cottages. The present building, he adds, cannot be later than the early part of the seventeenth century, and the traces of a moat, still visible, point to the existence of an earlier building on the same site.

Of the witnesses to the will, the family of Woolf, Wolfe, Le Loup, Lupus, is of very ancient origin, and were lords of the manor of Ashton in the reign of Edward II.[2] The name of Webb, another witness, does not occur in the registers till the year 1780, though now a common name in the village; but that of Jenkinson is not in the parish register (which has no entry earlier than 1682).

The will directs that a yearly portion or pension of £30 is to be paid to Henry Jenkinson, the son of the testator, who was at that time "in a weak state of mynde and body", the pension to be increased to £50 in the event of his recovering

[1] Near Towcester.

[2] Bridges' *Northampton*, i, 283.

his health. To his grandson, Henry Jenkinson, the sum of £2,000 is to be paid on his attaining the age of twenty-one; to this grandson three parts of the plate and household stuff of whatsoever it consist are left, and he is appointed residuary legatee. To another grandson, William Jenkinson, there is a bequest of £400, and "my lesser bason and ewer of silver". To his grand-daughter, Mary Jenkinson, the sum of £500 is directed to be paid, and to her is given the fourth part of the plate and household effects on her attaining the age of twenty-one, or within one year of her marriage.

Then there are legacies to the testator's daughters, Alice Price, Mary Hobson, Lucy Wilson, and Katherine Newport, each of whom receives £5. To Nicholas Price, his grandson and godson, £50 are directed to be paid; and to his grand-daughter, Susan Price, £100 on her attaining twenty-one, or on the day of her marriage. Then follow gifts to his servants: Thomas Greenwood, £20, "and the bed and bedding he now lieth in"; to Thomas Thame a gold ring, or 40*s.* "to buy one better to his liking".

There are also legacies to testator's niece, Dorothy Jenkinson, £50; to Sir Philip Sherard, Knight, "my acorne cupp of plate", which is also excepted from the former gift of plate; to him also is given "my best crowby";[1] and to Lady Isabella Sherard, his wife, "my duble blewe chest"; to the poor, "what shall be thought meete by myne executor". His four sons-in-law and his daughters are to receive mourning garments for themselves and one servant apiece. There are some further bequests—to the children of Edward Bluck of Sywell, £10 apiece; £100 to his nephew, Zachary Jenkinson, who is appointed sole executor; and £10 to his son-in-law, Thomas Price, who, with Sir Philip Sherard, are ordained supervisors.

Anthony Jenkinson was buried at Tighe, in Rutlandshire, the seat of his friend, Sir Philip Sherard, on the 26th February 1610 (-11), within four months

[1] Probably "coroby", a chest.—*Cf.* pp. 206, 459.

after the date of his will. His son Henry only survived him a short time, and was also buried at Tighe. Henry Jenkinson, the grandson, followed seven years later, and was buried by the side of his father and grandfather on the 23rd January 1618 (-19), having left no children.

Tighe, or Teigh, as it is commonly spelt now, is a small village in Oakham Union, in the hundred of Alstoe, in Rutlandshire, near the border of Leicestershire. The church is a plain building, dedicated to the Holy Trinity. It consists only of a nave, with a square embattled tower at the west end. The chancel was knocked down years ago, and many of the gravestones have been used for paving purposes, so that if any monument existed to the Jenkinson family it has long since disappeared.[1]

The further history of this family is not, strictly speaking, within the limits of this work, but a family tree (*infra*, p. cvii) will serve to show the immediate descendants of the traveller. There must be, no doubt, representatives of his family, for if the male issue be extinct, those on the female side probably survive.

[1] The Tighe registers, which date from 1550, contain several entries of the family besides those mentioned above—the marriage of William Jenkinson with Ann Barowe on the 6th November 1615; the baptism of two sons of William Jenkinson, named Philip and Edward, in 1617 and 1621; the burial of Dorothy Jenkinson in 1623, and Zachary her husband, rector of Tighe and executor of Anthony, in 1630; the marriage of Mary Jenkinson with Gilbert Fisher on the 28th May 1614.

Ienkinson.[1]

To all and singular, as well nobles and gentlemen as others, to whom these presentes shall come, be seene, heard, readd, or und'rstand. Sir Gilbart Dethicke, Knight, aliâs Garter principall Kinge of Armes, Robert Cooke, Esquire, aliâs Clarencieulx Kinge of Armes, of the South partes, and Will'm flower, Esquire, aliâs Norroy Kinge of Armes, of the North partes of England, Sendith greetinge in o^{r} Lord god Everlastinge.

For asmuche as annciently from the beginninge the valiannt and vertuouse actes of excellent personnes haue bey [been] comẽended to the worlde and posteryte with sundry monumentes and remembrances of their good deaserts: Emongst the which the chiefist and most usuall hath ben the bearinge of signes in Shieldes called Armes, beinge none other thinge than Evidences and Demonstracõns of prowesse and valoir, diversly distributyd accordinge to the qualytes and deseartes of the personnes meritinge the same. To the entent that such as haue done comẽendable s'vice to their prinnce or countrey, either in Warre or Peace, at home or abrode, any Wayes addinge to the advanncement of the Comon Weale, the fruytes of their industry and traveyll, beinge in very deed the true and p'fect tokens of a right noble disposition: may therfore receyve due hono^{r} in their lyves, and also deryve and continew the same successyvely in their posteryte for ever. Emongst the which Nomber Anthony Ienkinson, Citezen of London, being one, who for the s'vice of his prinnce, Weale of his countrey, and for knowledg sake, one of the greatist Iewells gyven by god to mankynd, hath

---

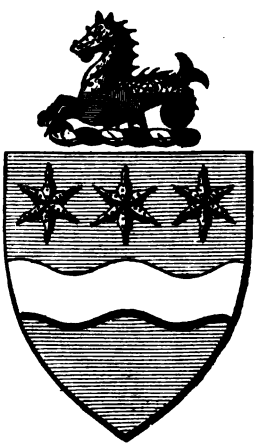
[1] *MS. Ashm.* 844, 3; see also *MS. Harl.* 1463, fo. 286; on the same fo.:—

Anthony Jenkynson.=Judith, da. of John Marshe of London, Esq.

| 1 Alice, daughter. | 2 Mary, da.

not fearyd to adventure and hazard his lyfe, and to weare his body w^th^ long and paynfull traveyll into dyvers and sundry contreys, not onely of Europe, as Flannders, Germany, Frannce, Italy, and Spayn, etc., w^th^ the Islands adiacent, which in maner thouroughout he hath iourneyed. But also of bothe Asias and of Afrique, as Grecia, Turky, the fyve Kingdomes of Tartares, India Orientall, Armenia, Medea, Parthia, hircania, Persia, the holy land and countrey Palestine, w^th^ dyvers cities thereof, as Samaria, Galile, Jehrusalem, and s^rd^ [sailed ?] w^th^ Africans there at Argiers, Iola [Kola], Bona, Tripoly, and Tunis; and northwards hath also saylid on the frosen seas many dayes w^th^in the Artick circle, and traveylid thourough owt the ample dominions of the Empero^r^ of Russia and Muscovia and the confynes of Norway and Lapyia over to the Caspian Sea, and into dyvers contreys there abowt, to the old cosmographers utterly unknowne. And somewhat to mention other his navigations, lykwys hath he sayled thourough all the Levant Seas every way, and ben in the chief Islands of the Inland Seas called Mediterraneum Mare, viz., Rhodes, Malta, Sicillia, Cipres [Cyprus], and Candy, w^th^ dyvers others. And in a second iourney to mare Caspian, sayling over that Sea an other waye, and landing in Armenia at Darbent, a city of Alexander the greate his buyldinge, and from thence traveyling thourough dyvers countreys over to the courte of the greate Sophy, he delyverid letters vnto him from the queens ma^tie^ that now is, and remaynid in the said Sophy [his] court the space of viij (8) moneths. Also into a greater nomber mor[e] of contreys hath he traveyled, then may easely be called to mynd, or in this place be well rehersed, not w^th^ out great perilles and daungers sondry tymes. And not onely traveylid into them, but hath also soiournyd in the courtes of many of the greate prinnces, of whome he hath not onely ben well entreted, but also dismissed w^th^ much favo^r^ and w^th^ freendly letters of immunite and saufguard, whereof some we haue seene and p'sed [perused], as a letter of recomẽdacion from the Empero^r^ of Russia to the Sophy and other

princes, a saufconduct from the greate Turk, a letter of cõmendacion from Astmicana [Hadjim Khan], king of Tartaria, and letters testimoniall of his being at Jherusalem, being all evident tokens of his Vertue, honesty, and Wisdom. *And retourning homewards, passed thourough dyvers other contreys, over long heer to be rehersed.* In consideracion of which his said traveyll, tending always to the honor of his prince & Countrey (a p'fect proof of his vertue and prowesse) and for a perpetuall declaration of the Worthynesse of the sayd Anthony Ienkinson, We, the kings of Armes aforesayde, by power authoryte to vs comittyd by letters patentes



und^{r} the greate Seale of Englande, togither wth the assent and consent of the high and mighty Thomas Duk of Norfolk, Erle Mareshall of Englande, have assigned, gyven, and grauntyd vnto the sayde Anthony Ienkynson these Armes and Creast followeng: That is to say, the field azure, a fece Wave argent in chief three starres gold upon a helme on a torce argent and azur, a Sea horse, cõmonly called a Neptunes horse, gold and azur mantelyd gueulles doublyd argent, as more playnly apperith depictyd in this margent. Which Armes and Creast, and every part and parcell thereof, We, the said Garter Clerencieulx and Norroy Kinges of Armes, do by these presentes ratify, confyrme, gyve, and

grannt vnto the sayd Anthony Ienkinson, and to his posteryte for ever. And he the same Armes and Creaste to vse, beare, and shew at all tymes, and for ever hereafter, at his liberty and pleasure, without the impedyment, lett, or interruption of any person or p'sons.

In Witnesse whereof, we, the sayd Kings of Armes, haue signed these presents wth our hands, and sett ther vnto our Severall Seals of Armes, the 14 day of February, in the year of our Lord god a thousand fiv hundryd sixty eight.

Extracted from the Principal Registry of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice.

In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

In the Name of God Amen. the thirteenth day of November in the yere of o^{r} Lord God according to the computacōn of the Church of England one thousand six hundred and tenne I Anthony Jenkinson of Ashton in the County of Northampton Esquire being of sufficient healthe and memorye (thanckes be given to God) do make and declare this my Testament and last Will in manner and forme as foloweth First and principally I committ and commend my Soul and body to Allmighty God my Maker and to Jesus Christ my Saviour and Redeemer trusting assuredly that through His meritts deathe and passion only and by noe other meanes I shall obtayne full and free remyssion of all my synnes as well originall as actuall and after this mortall life ended to raigne with hym in eternall ioyes in the Kingdome of Heaven Item I give and bequeathe unto my sonne Henry Jenkinson an yerelie portion pention or Annuitie out of the use or rent of money that is to saye yf my sayed sonne Henry remayne as nowe he is in weak state of mynde and bodye Then my will is that to his maynten'nce he shall have but thirtie poundes by the yeare payed to his maynten'nce at twoo severall tymes in

the yeare by even portions that is to saye at the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin commonly called Oure Ladye daye one fifteene pounds and at the Feast of Michaell the Arch Angell other fifteene poundes but yf it may please God that my sayed sonne Henry shall be restored to his former perfection of mynde and memorye then my mynde and will ys that annually he shall have fiftie poundes payed at suche times and after such manner as is afore mentioned by even portions Item I give and bequeathe to Henrye Jenkinson my graund childe the sume of twoe thousand poundes of good and lawfull Englishe money to be payed unto him at the age of twentie one yeares yf he then be living Item I give unto Henry Jenkinson my grand childe afore said three partes of all my plate (my lesser bason and ewer excepted) to be delivered also to him the tyme before mencōned Item I give and bequeath unto my sayed grand childe Henry Jenkinson three partes of all my household whatsoever stuffe or matter it is appearing when Inventary shall be made thereof Item I give and bequeathe unto William Jenkinson my grand childe fower hundred pounds of good and lawfull Englishe money to be payd unto hym at the age of one and twenty yeares yf he be then living Item I give and bequeath unto the sayed William Jenkinson my lesser bason and ewer of silver to be delivered at the same time afore sayed Item I give and bequeath unto Mary Jenkinson my grand childe the full somme of five hundred poundesof good and lawfull English moneye to be payed unto her at one and twentie yeres of age or within one yere after her marriage which shall first happen after my decease Item I give to my sayed grand childe Mary Jenkinson the fourth parte of my plate (the plate given to my grand childe William Jenkinson excepted) Item I give to the fore sayed Mary the fourth parte of all my household afore named and to be delivered as above is mentioned provided allwaies that to avoide contention concerning the deviding of plate my will is that my Execr· shall at his discretion devide and deliver as well the plate as household stuffe above mentioned and being so parted they shall be

contented without any other meanes of devidinge Allso my wyll and mynde y^{s} $y^{t.}$ yf any of the parties above mentioned shall departe this present life before suche legacyes or payments shall be due the parte or partes so remaininge shall equallie be devided amongst the survivours of my grand children above named And yf there be no survivour and survivours of them then shall the sayed portions be distributed equally amonge the neerest of my bloude namely my daughters then living Item I give to Alice Aprise my daughter fyve poundes Item I give to Mary Hobson my daughter fyve poundes Item I give to Luce Willson my daughter fyve poundes Item I give to my daughter Katherine Newporte five poundes Item I give to Nicholas Aprice my graund childe and God sonne fiftie poundes Item I give to my Graund childe Susan Aprise one hundred poundes to be payed at the age of one and twentie yeres or daye of mariage which of those times shall fall the soonest Item I give to my servaunte Thomas Greenewood the full somme of twentie poundes of lawfull English moneye Also to him I give the bed and bedding he nowe lieth in Item I give to Thomas Thame a golde rynge or fortie shillings to buy one to his better liking Item I give to my neece Dorothie Jenkinson fiftie poundes Item I give to $S^{r.}$ Philip Sherowd Knighte my acorne cupp of plate which also I do except from my former guifte of plate Also to hym I give my best Crowby and to Lady Isabell Sherard his wife I give my duble blewe chest Item I give unto the poore what shall be thought meete by myne Executor Item I will that my fower sonnes in lawe and my daughters and for each of them one man shall have mourning garments that is for a sonne and a daughter one servaunts garment Item I will that my neiphue Zacharie Jenkinson and his wife and servaunte shall have the like And my man Thomas the like Item I give and bequeathe unto Edward Blucks children late of Seywell to eache childe tenne poundes a peece Item all the rest of my goodes unbequeathed of what nature so ever they be (allways provided that my Executor be kept harmeles) all

the sayed money and goodes unbequeathed I give to my grand childe Henry Jenkinson Item I bequeath and give to my neiphue Zacharye one hundred poundes of good and lawfull money of England the which Zachary Jenkinson I make full and sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament And I ympose this chardge upon hym honestly and duly to be performed as he will awnswere the same at the dreadfull daye of Judgment before Allmighty God Item I give tenne poundes to my sonne in lawe Thomas Price And of this Will I ordeyne the Right Worshipfull S^{r}. Philipp Sherard Knighte and my sonne in lawe Thomas Price Supervisors In witnesse whereof I have set to this my last Will and Testament my hande and seale this thirteenth daye of November and yere of o^{r}. Lord as above written ANTHONY JENKINSON his marke—who for palsey was not able to wryte his name—Witnesses whose names ar published—Frauncys Nabbs—John Basse—Ambrose Woolfe his marke.

Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum apud London coram Magistro Edmundo Pope legum Doctore Surrogato venerabilis viri Domini Johannis Benet militis legum etiam Doctoris Curie Prerogative Cantuariens' Magistri custodis sive Com'issarij legitime constituti Octavo die mensis Martij Anno Domini iuxta cursum et computacōem Ecclie Anglicane Millesimo sexcentesimo decimo Juramento Zacharie Jenkinson Executoris in eodem testamento nominat Cui Com'issa fuit Administraco bonorum Jurium et creditorum dicti defuncti de bene et fideliter Administrand' Ac ad Sancta Dei Evangelia jurat.

Family Tree.

Anthony Jenkinson. = **Judith, dau. of John Marsh.**

- **Alice**, married Thomas Price; their son Nicholas and daughter Susan mentioned in the will.
- **Mary**, married ... Hobson.
- **Lucy**, married ... Wilson.
- **Katherine**, married John Newport of Welton, Esqr., of Welton, co. Northants; had seven sons and ten daughters. John Newport, the second son, sold Welton to William Adams, Esqr., in 1647. He settled it on his second son, William, who married Anne, second daughter of John and Katherine Newport. From William Adams, the manor of Welton descended to Samuel Miller Adams, who alienated it in 1804 to John Clarke, Esqre.[1]
- **Henry**, died 1611. =
  - **Henry**, born 1593; inherited bulk of grandfather's fortune; died unmarried, 1619, leaving a will.
  - **William**, born 1596; married, 1615, Ann Barowe; had issue Philip, born 1617; Edward, born 1621.
  - **Mary**, born 1598; married, 1614, Gilbert Fisher; had issue.
- **Judith and Jane** (twins), born 1579; died same year.
- **Anthony**, born 1580, probably predeceased his father.
- **Anthony**, born 1582, probably predeceased his father.

[1] See pedigree in Baker's *Hist. of Northampton*, i, 459.

Means of Decay of the Russe Trade.[1]

[By Christopher Burrough.]

I. *The desier the Russ hath to draw a greater trade to the port of St. Nicholas,* beeing the better & surer way to vent his own commodities to bring in forrein then the other wayes by the Narve and Riga, that ar[e] many times stopped vp by reason of the warres with the Polonian & Sweden. This maketh them discontent with our English marchants and their trade thear, which, beeing very small (viz., but of 5 or 6 sail a year), keepeth other from trading that way. Whereas they ar[e] made assured by French, Netherlandish, & other English marchants, that they shall have great numbers & flourishing trade at that port, to the enhaunsing of their commodities & the Emperours customs, if they will cast of[f] the Englhish company and their priviledged trade.

II. *The keeping of their trade & staple at Mosko,* whearby grow these inconveniences: 1. A great expense by their travail & carriages, to & fro by land from the seaside to Mosko, which is 1,500 varsts or miles. 2. An expense of houskeeping at five places, viz., at Mosko, Yaruslaue, Vologda, Colmogro, & St. Nicholas. 3. Their commodities ar[e] ever ready at hand for the Emperor & his Nobilitie, lyeng within the eye and reach of the Court. By this means much is taken vpon trust by the Emperour and his Nobilitie (which may not bee denied them), and soe it becometh desperate debt. 4. Their whole stock is still in danger to bee pulled & seazed on vpon every pretence, & picked matter by the Emperor & his Officers; which cannot be helped as long as the trade is helld at Mosko, considering the nature of ye Russ, which cannot forbear to spoile & fleece strangers now and then (as hee doeth his own people), if hee suppose they gain by his countrey. This hath caused all other marchants strangers to give over that trade, save two only, whearof the one also (beeing a Netherlander)

[1] MS. Lansd. 52, No. 27.

became bankrupt this last year, the other (a ffrenchman) beeing spoiled by them at my beeing thear, cam[e] away the last year, & hath given over that trade. As for our marchants priviledges (which they were suffred to enioy when the discovery was first made, and when the olld Emperour was in dotage about a marriage in England), they must not look that they will protect them hearafter against those seazures & spoiles, the Russe having no respect of honor and credit in respect of his profit.

III. *Their servants which (though honest before) ar[e] made ill by these means.*—1. The profan'es of that countrey and liberty, they have to all kynd of syn; whearby it cometh to pass that many of them beeing vnmarried men fall to ryppt, whoredom, &c., which draweth one expenses; so having not of their own, they spend of y^e^ Companies. Of this sort they have had to[o] many (as they know). 2. Lack of good discipline among themselves, specially of preacher to keap them in knowledg & fear of God, & in a conscience of their service towards their Worships. 3. Their wages & allowance is very small, or (if they bee apprentized) nothing at all, beeing debarred bysides of all trade for themselves. This maketh them practise other meanes to mend their estates; first, by imbezeling and drawing from the Company, & then following a privat[e] trade for themselves; whearby divers of them grow ritch and their Worships poor. Which they make less conscience of, bycause they say they spend their time in so barbarous a countrey, whear they are made vnfit for all other trades & service in other countries abroad. 4. Certein of their servants that have soom better conceipt of themselves, grow into acquaintance with Noblemen of the Court to countenance their dealings after they ar[e] entred into a privat[e] trade, & other disorders. This friendship of great persons in y^e^ Russ Court is very dear, & hath cost y^e^ Company many thousand pounds, having gained nothing by it but y^e^ protection of their own lewd servants against themselves.

IV. *Privat[e] trade by certein of the Company that have*

their factours thear vpon y^e^ common charge, who besydes their inland trade (buying at one part of the countrey & selling at the other as if they wear Russ marchants, to y^e^ great dislyke of the Russ) bring in a ship over comodities in fflemish bottoms at St. Nicolas, Riga, and Narve; which hindreth muche the common trade & profit of the Company.

Means to please y^e^ Russe Emperour for y^e^ marchants beehalf.

1. If the Queen seem willing to ioign with him for drawing a greater trade to y^e^ port of S^t.^ Nicolas, from the other wayes of Narve & Riga. 2. If hir Highnes Letters, treaties, & presents sent to him bee so ordered as that they seem, indeed, to coom from hir self & hir good affection, & not from the marchants, as hee is perswaded still they doo, & thearfore, reiecteth them & little regardeth the treaties doon in hir name, by cause (as hee sayeth), they coom from the Mousicks [Mujiks, *i.e.*, boors]. 3. If hir Maiestie (when occasion doeth requier) offer hir self ready to mediat[e] beetwixt him & the Polonian & Sweden, whome the Russe ever feareth bycause hee is ever invaded by them, & not they by him, and thearfore is glad to procure his peace by any means with them; the rather bycause hee never wanteth an enimie on the other side, viz., the Tartar.

REMEDYES.

The remedy for this is to give the Russ soom better contentment by enlarging y^e^ English trade at y^e^ port of S^t.^ Nicolas, so much as may be.—This may be doon by refourming the trade after y^e^ manner of y^e^ Adventurers, viz.: Every man to trade for himself vnder a governours deputy, that is to attend & follow their busines on thother side. 2. The number of y^e^ Russe company to bee enlarged, & young men suffred to trade as well as the rest. This manner of trading after y^e^ order of y^e^ Adventurers, & drawing a greater trade to the port of S^t.^ Nicolas, is lyke to prove much better for the

generallitie of the Company, for comon wealth, & y^e^ Queenes coustoms then that which now is, whear all trade together in one common stock. If it bee obiected that y^e^ Russe countrey will bear no such enlargement of trade, nor vent greater quantitie of our English commodities then now it doeth (which is but 1,500 English clothers a year, with soom proportionate quantitie of tin, lead, brimstone, &c.), it is answered, by the opinion of good experience, that the trade by S^t.^ Nicolas hath been stinted of late, & restrained of pourpose by very practise for the benefit of soom fiew, & that y^e^ sayed traed will vtter far greater quantities than now it doth, whatsoever is pretended, if y^e^ way by S^t.^ Nicolas wear ons [once] well inured & frequented in manner (as before is noted), specially when troubles grow on the Narve side.

II. *The remedy to draw their trade & staple from Mosko & other inland parts to y^e^ seaside, whear they shall be farther of from y^e^ eye & reach of y^e^ Court.*—This will avoyd y^e^ seasures doon vpon every pretence & cavillation & takings vp vpon trust by the Emperour & his Nobles, which is the speciall means that vndoeth our marchants trade, the rather when every man dealeth severally for himself with his own stock, which will not bee so ready for y^e^ Russ to command as when all was in the hand and ordering of one agent. 2. By this means allso the inland privat[e] trades practised by certein of the Company to y^e^ hurt of y^e^ Generallitie will bee prevented, when they ar[e] restrained all to one remote place from the inland parts. 3. The charge of houskeeping & houserents at these 5 severall places will bee cutt of[f]. 4. The charge and trouble of travailing to and fro with their commodities & carriages (viz., 1,500 miles within land) will bee eased. 5. The Russe commodities (that our marchants trade for), will be easier provided towards the sea coast then in the inland parts. And as toutchyng the lykelyhood of obteining the Emperours favour for y^e^ removing their trade from Mosko towards the seaside, thear ar[e] these reasons to induce it. 1. The pollicie of the Russ to remove strangers

out of y^e^ inland parts, specially from Mosko (y^e^ Emperors seat), towards y^e^ out parts of y^e^ countrey for bringing in novelties & breeding conceipts in their peoples heads by their beehaviour & reports of the governments & fashions of other countries. To this pourpose the Emperours counsell consulted at my beeing thear, & conferred with mee abowt the removing of our marchants trade from Mosko to Archangell, that lyeth 30 miles from y^e^ port of S^t.^ Nicolas, vpon the river Dwyna, to feell how it would be taken if it wear forced by y^e^ Emperour. 2. The desier the Russ hath to draw trade to the port of S^t.^ Nicolas, for the reasons menconed beefore. 3. The necessitie of our English commodities will draw the Russe marchants to follow the Mart or Staple, whearsoeuer it bee, specially at S^t.^ Nicholas, for y^e^ commodities of that port. 4. The whole inland trade will then bee the Russe marchants; whereas before our English marchants that kept residence at Mosko, and other inland parts, had trade within land, & delt with Bougharians, Medians, Turks, &c., as well as the natives, which the Russe marchants very much envyed & mislyked. 5. The Emperour & his counsells lykinge will force the marchants to frequent that trade, though themselves should mislyke it.

III. *Remedy for this*, viz.: 1. By removing their trade from Mosko, & by severall trading (noted beefore) whear every man followeth his busines by himself or his factor. Hereby their servants illdealing will bee prevented, and if the servant prove ill & vnthriftie, it hurteth but his master. 2. If they continew their trade as they doe, by common servants, to allow them better wages, & to give them more contentment by permitting them to have a *peculium* to a certein stint, & to trade with it for bettering their own estates. This will give their servants better contentment when they see soom cure had of them, & their own estate to mend as well as the Companies. 3. To have a preacher thear resident with them, that they may learn & know God, and so their dueties towards their Maisters; which will easier bee graunted if the trade bee removed towards the

seaside. If they obiect they have no great number of servants thear that should need a preacher (as was answered mee when I propounded that matter to them at my gooing over), it may bee answered that if they have never so fiew in that countrey (where they want all good means of instruction towards God), the Company ought in Christian duety to prouide that means for them. The preacher, besydes that vse of him, might earn his stipend by advise with their Agent about their affaires, being a man of soom iudgement & discretion.

IV. This inconvenience is prevented by removing the trade to the coast, & observing the order mencioned before as the Adventurers doe.

Means to terrifie the Russ & keep him in order.—1. By threatening to stoppe the way to the port of S^t^ Nicolas; which, howsoever it can bee doon, the Russ is perswaded hir Maiestie can doe it. 2. If hir highnes shew any correspondence with the Polonian, Sweden, and Turk, and that shee hath means to invite them. 3. If the Russ practise any seazure or violence vpon our marchants goods (as was lykely before my comming thither), revenge may bee made at Pechora, by the seaside, vpon the mart there, which is helld yearly about Midsummer, whear ar[e] marted the furres of all sortes, to the valew of £100,000 yearly, which may bee surprised by a fiew sail & a smal company well appointed comming on a suddain, the Russe having no means to foresee or prevent it.

Something yet remains to be said of Jenkinson's services to geography. About the middle of the sixteenth century vague ideas prevailed in England, indeed in Europe generally, with reference to the East—ideas founded on the ancient classical authors, and especially on Ptolemy's works, modified to some

extent by the accounts brought home by the mediæval travellers. Erroneous notions had not been dispelled. Cathay was still believed to be a country distinct from China, situate in the extreme north-east of Asia. The Oxus and Jaxartes were supposed to flow into the Caspian Sea, and the axis of this sea was represented on maps greater from east to west than from north to south. The Aral Sea was unknown. The river Don was represented on some maps as bifurcating from the Volga,[1] while the northern coasts of Europe and Asia were generally believed to be shrouded in impenetrable gloom. The first voyages of the English to the White Sea threw a ray of light into regions which, as far as Western Europe was concerned, had been hitherto in darkness. They acquainted the world with the northern route to Russia, a country according to their accounts highly productive, abundantly watered, with numerous large towns, and an industrious population, who were not averse to enter into relations with foreigners. Jenkinson's travels by land and water greatly extended this knowledge: he was the first to describe from personal observation eastern parts of Russia, at that time only recently annexed by Ivan; the first to descend the Volga since it had become a Russian river, a great highway between east and west; the first Englishman to navigate the inland waters of the Caspian; to recognise that it really was a landlocked sea and had no communication with Northern or Indian Ocean,

[1] Cf. *Asie Centrale*, Humboldt, ii, p. 292.

removing prevalent errors, by assigning to it truer proportions than hitherto; the first to describe with some approach to accuracy the various countries bordering on its coasts, and to enumerate some of the rivers falling into it. All this, new to Englishmen and to Europe, aroused great interest in those countries. People began to be aware of a world outside their ken, and cosmographers to construct charts containing some of the information thus obtained.

As far as the Caspian, Jenkinson's geography, based on what he had seen, was fairly accurate; but when he spoke of the rivers of Central Asia, and attempted to reconcile what he heard with erroneous notions, derived, as we have seen, from ancient authors, he was led into confusion. When he descended the cliff of the Ust Urt, on his road to Urgendj, and looked down upon the waterspread of lakes Sary Kamish, spreading over a far wider area than they do at present, he concluded that he saw a gulf of that sea, for he knew of none other; and when he passed the channel of the Oxus near Urgendj, and learned that this river had almost ceased to flow along its former bed, he could only suppose that its outflow had been in the Caspian. He then crossed a large river—the Amu daria of our day, named by him Ardok[1]—and as he knew of no Aral

[1] John Balak, writing to Gerard Mercator in 1581, says: "They call that riuer Ardok which falleth into the lake of Kittay (Cathay), which they call Paraha, whereupon bordereth that mightie and large nation which they call Carrah Colmak, which is none other than the nation of Cathay."—*Hakl.*, ed. 1599, i, 512.

Sea which should receive its waters, he connected it by a chain of lakes and underground flow[1] with the Northern Ocean, leaving for the time sober facts, and entering the region of fable, in order to explain what must have appeared to him unaccountable. Purchas, the successor of Hakluyt, treats his remarks as a joke :—"Into this gulfe the riuer Oxus did sometimes fall, but is now intercepted by the riuer Ardock, which runneth toward the north ; and (as it were loath to view so cold a clime and barbarous inhabitants) after he hath runne with swift race a thousand miles (as it were) in flight, he hideth himselfe under ground for the space of five hundred miles, and then looking vp and seeing little amendment, drowneth himself in the lake of Kithay."[2] These passages of Jenkinson's narrative have excited the most learned criticism, from his time almost to the present day ; hardly a geographer of eminence but has not tried to explain them. They have been repeatedly cited in proof of a former discharge of the Oxus into the Caspian, and they have supplied a never-ending theme of discussion. Eastern writers have been studied and compared with the better known Greek and Roman authors. Humboldt and Ritter, Eichwald, Zimmermann, and many others, have thrown into it their erudition and research, but to very little purpose.

[1] Underground flow does apparently take place in the desiccated region south of the Aral, though not to the same extent as Jenkinson suggests.—*Cf.* Kaulbar's *Zapiski Imp. Russ. Geogr. Obsch.* Gen. Geogr., vol, ix, pp. 412-415.

[2] *Purchas,* 2nd ed., 1614, book iv, ch. ii, p. 347.

The question as to the ancient course of the Oxus and the changes undergone by the Aralo-Caspian basin, remained undecided till the recent conquests of Russia enabled careful surveys to be made. Throughout the whole of these discussions, however, our traveller's veracity was never impugned. His testimony as an eye-witness, corroborated as it was by that of a native of the country where these changes occurred—the Tartar king and historian, Abul Ghazi Bahadur Khan—was generally accepted. It would be impossible to enter fully into the intricate questions connected with the Aralo-Caspian basin and the Oxus channels within the compass of this work.[1] Suffice it for our purpose to say that Jenkinson first drew attention to physical changes affecting all this part of Asia. In consequence of these, the Caspian and Aral seas were being locked in separate basins, rivers were altering their courses or becoming absorbed in the sand, and fertile tracts were rapidly being converted into sterile desert.

The narratives of Jenkinson had great influence over the geography of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They were published in all the best collections of travels, and his map was included by Ortelius in his famous atlas *Theatrum orbis terrarum*,

[1] They will be found fully treated in the following works:—Eichwald, *Alte Geographie des Kaspischen Meeres*, Berlin, 1838, pp. 1-202; Carl Zimmermann, *Geographische Analyse eines Versuches zur Darstellung des Kriegstheaters Russlands gegen Chiwa*, Berlin, 1840, *passim*; the same author, *Denkschrift über den unteren Lauf des Oxus*, Berlin, 1845, pp. 1-23; Alexander v. Humboldt, *Asie Centrale*, Paris, 1843, ii, pp. 121-334.

Antwerp, 1570.[1] In this way Jenkinson's erroneous ideas on the hydrography of Central Asia were perpetuated, and it was not till Peter the Great gave a fresh impulse to the study of Western Central Asia by the surveys he ordered to be made of the coasts of the Caspian, and the expeditions he planned against Khiva, that more definite information was obtained for the correction of maps of this region. This may be proved by a comparison of the maps published at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and those of the fourth decade of that century; taking, for instance, the maps of the world in the first and second editions of Harris's collection of travels. The former (1705), though prepared by so well-known a cartographer as Mohl, shows the old erroneous shape of the Caspian, with the rivers Jaxartes and Oxus flowing into it on the east; the latter, dated 1735, represents this sea nearly in accordance with modern notions, and the Aral lake smaller than its actual size, but in approximately

[1] Gerard Mercator, however, who ranks next to Ortelius as a cosmographer of the sixteenth century, only made a partial use of Jenkinson's map and observations. But where he and his fellow-worker Hondius disregarded them altogether, they fell into graver errors. This may be seen on studying the maps of Asia, Persia, and Tartary, published in an English edition of their atlas in 1636. Their Caspian Sea is altogether wrong in shape and proportions. Into it, from the east, flows the Chesel, corresponding with the Jaxartes and the Abia (Amu). On the other hand they retain Jenkinson's Sur (Syr) as the upper course of the Obi, placing it, however, farther to the eastward. One consequence of these errors is to bring Samarkand and the country marked "Zagathay" close to the Caspian, and to lessen the distance to China, by that time identified with Cathay.

its true position. Yet even down to the middle of the present century, geographers laid great stress on the long gulf or fiord penetrating eastward from the Caspian Sea, as shown on Jenkinson's map, assuming that in his time there had been an expansion of the Karabugaz or Scythian Gulf to within a few marches of Urgendj.[1]

Jenkinson then, with all his mistakes, and we readily admit them, rendered great services to geography. He bridges over the lapse of years between the travels of Rubruquis and Marco Polo in the thirteenth century, and those of English and Russians in the eighteenth century, a long period of uncertainty and vagueness in the accounts of Central Asia. If his endeavours to restore the great inland trade route to the East were unsuccessful, he at least has the merit of having tried his best, and shown that physical changes, affecting not only the country, but its inhabitants, were rendering it impracticable. Perhaps the end of the nineteenth century, with the aid of modern engineering, which knows no bounds to its peaceful conquests, may see realised the hopes of those who followed with the keenest interest his footsteps across Asia in the sixteenth century.

Let us now examine his map; for the writer begs respectfully to differ with the opinion put forward in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, attributing its authorship to William Burrough. To

[1] *Cf.* Zimmermann, *Denkschrift, etc.*, where this part of Jenkinson's map is reproduced.

this worthy let all due honour be given for his surveys and map of the coasts of the White Sea, also reproduced in this work, without detracting, however, from the merits of Anthony Jenkinson.

It has been remarked by a modern writer[1] that our knowledge of Eastern Europe dates from the publication of Herberstein's work on Russia. The map accompanying the first Latin edition, published in Vienna in 1549, was engraved on wood by Hirschvogel, of Nurnburg; an Italian edition appeared the following year at Venice, with a map by Giacomo Gastaldo, a Piedmontese, who worked for Ortelius, whose atlas, already referred to, contained, among others, Jenkinson's, reproduced in facsimile by photography for this volume. These are among the earliest maps of Russia, but not the first. That by Antonius Wied, or Bied, as Herberstein calls him in his preface, was probably published about the year 1540,[2] while another, by Baptista Agnese, dates as far back as the year 1525,[3] and was probably designed for the purpose of illustrating a little work on Russia by Paulus Jovius, appearing in a first edition at Rome the same year, but without the map. Sebastian Munster introduced a map of part of

[1] Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, ed. 1, pp. 286, 373.

[2] Dr. Michow, in his essay on the oldest maps of Russia, comes to the conclusion that Wied's map was published between 1537 and 1540.—Michow, in *Mittheil. d. Geogr. Ges., in Hamburg*, heft i, pp. 116, *seqq.*, 1886. But see *infra*.

[3] A Russian, probably either Vasili Vlassy or Demetrius Gerassimof, displayed a map at Augsburg in 1525, to demonstrate a short route to Cathay.—*Hamel*, p. 115.

Russia, copied from Wied's, in the text of his cosmography. Jenkinson's map compares favourably with any of these. For the northern portion he was doubtless indebted to the observations and surveys of his countrymen; for the south and east he must have depended almost wholly on his own work; while for the western border-lands of Russia, Livonia, Lithuania, Poland, the shores of the Baltic, and Gulf of Finland, he probably borrowed from Wied. Unlike the latter, he places north at the top of his map, east and west to the right and left. On either side he has marked the degrees of latitude, without, however, drawing the lines across. The dedication in the left-hand corner at the bottom is to Sir Henry Sidney, father of Sir Philip Sidney, and formerly companion of the young King Edward the Sixth.[1] It runs as follows: "*Russiæ , Moscoviæ et Tartariæ descriptio . Auctore Antonio Jenkenson Anglo , edita Londini Anno* 1562 *et dedicata illustrissimo D.*[*uci*] *Henrico Sydneo Walliæ præsidi , .*"

In the top left-hand corner is a figure of Ivan the Terrible seated in a chair at the entrance to a tent, the flaps of which are drawn back to disclose the seated figure. This was a usual way, in maps of that period, in indicating that any particular country was under one sovereign (*cf.* Agnese's map). The inscription below is as follows: "*Ioannes Basilius*

[1] "Henry Sidney was knighted in 1549 by Edward VI, who made him principal gentleman of his Privy Chamber, and in 1550 his chief cup-bearer for life. In the 2nd of Elizabeth (1560) he was appointed Lord President of Wales.—*Biographia Britannica.*

Magnus Imperator Russiæ ; Dux Moscouiæ", etc. At the bottom of the map is a scale of English miles, Russian versts, and Spanish leagues. The first thing to be noticed is, that the distances, according to the scale, between the north and south are fairly correct, more so than on any of the older maps already mentioned ; a fact due, doubtless, to the observations for latitude, taken by the English wherever they went. Measured by the scale, Kholmogori is 1,200 miles from Astrakhan, in a straight line, and this is not far out ; nor is the breadth from east to west, 900 miles from Kazan to the Baltic, very inaccurate, though, owing to the want of longitudes, discrepancies were to be expected.

On the north, Russia is bounded by the Mare Septentrionale, no longer the Oceanus Siticus (Scythicus) of Agnese, or the Mare Glaciale of Herberstein. Out of this sea a passage, or so-called "throat", leads into the Bay of St. Nicholas of the sixteenth century navigators, the White Sea of the present day, unnamed on the map. This sea is too small in proportion to the map, and the gulfs of Onega and Kandalaks are omitted. The river Onega debouches at Solofki (Solovetsky) in lat. 66°, two degrees too far north, an error attributable to the want of observations here.

Taking the places in their order along the coast, the northernmost is Wardhous (Vardô), the well-known Norwegian fort and haven; south-east of this is Khegore (Ribatchi, or Fishers' peninsula), with Domshaff (Varanger fiord) intervening. The next

headland is S. Maria ness (St. Mary's point), with the river Kola discharging into the sea to the south of it; then follow Kildma Ostroua (Kildyn Island), with Ins. S. Petri (St. Peter's Island) off the coast, Cape Soberbere (Teriberskoi), Arsena fl. (the river Arzina), memorable as the scene of Willoughby's tragic death, Insulæ S. Georgii (St. Goerge's Islands), lying off the coast. Iuana ost., also marked Ins. S. Iõis (Johannis), comes next. Then follow Cape Comfort and Cape Gallant, two headlands, shown more distinctly on Burrough's map, the second better known as Sviatoi noss, the Sweteness of the narrative; Lomboshok (Lumbovsky bay), Corpus X^{ti} point (Gorodetsky point), Baia S. Albani (St. Alban's bay), and Cape Race (Cape Orlof), forming, with a headland on the opposite coast, the entrance to the White Sea. In the narrative (text, p. 22), Jenkinson evidently is mistaken in speaking of Cape Grace as the entrance to the White Sea. His latitude of Cape Grace (66° 45′) should refer to Cape Race, correctly placed on Burrough's map, but on Jenkinson's upwards of a degree too far north. On Burrough's map the mouth of the Ponoy is shown in its right position, south of Cape Race (Orlof). Here, on both maps, is the large island of Morzouetz (Morjovetz); on Jenkinson's it is too near to the Lapland coast, whilst on Burrough's it is correctly placed off the entrance to the Gulf of Mezen. Ins. S. Crucis—Crosse Island of the text, the Sosnovets of modern maps—is another island in the "throat" of the White Sea, near the south coast of Lapland.

Continuing along the coast from Cape S. Gratiæ (Grace), or Point Krasni (red) of Russian charts, the next name is Poulogе N., corresponding with Powlogne fl. on Burrough's map, identified with the river Poulonga, a small stream falling into the sea. South of it is Pelitsa fl. (the river Pialitsa). Niconesko N., on Burrough's map Niconemsko noze (Nikodimskoi point) comes next. South-west of this, where the coast of Lapland turns in a westerly direction, is the mouth of the Strelna, a name still preserved on modern maps; Tetrene N. (Tetrina), a point on the coast; Chiauon fl., Chauon on Burrough's map (the river Chavanga), and Varziga fl. (the Varzuga).

So far the maps of Jenkinson and Burrough are correct, allowance being made for the rough methods of surveying and map-making then in use. Beyond this point, however, the coast is incorrectly outlined, the gulfs of Kandalaks and Onega being altogether omitted. These were out of the track of vessels sailing to St. Nicholas, and had not yet been visited by the English. Solofki (Solovetski), the island monastery, is on Jenkinson's map in lat. 66°; on Burrough's, its position about a degree farther south is more correct. Entering the bay of St. Nicholas (Gulf of Archangel), Owna (Una) with its bay are found on both maps, Newnox (Nenoksa) on Burrough's only. Next is St. Nicholas, at the estuary of the Dwina; and about sixty miles up this river Colmogro (Kholmogori). Facing St. Nicholas, on the right of the estuary, is the monastery of St.

Michael, more correctly placed on Burrough's map above the delta of the Dwina, where the city of Archangel afterwards rose. Following the coast in a northerly direction we come to Sugha More (the dry sea), a bay of the Gulf of Archangel, shown but not named on Jenkinson's map. After passing this, the next headland is Koska noze, Koska nos of Jenkinson's map (*hodie* Cape Kuiski), projecting south-west. The next name is Posda fl. (probably Kosli), and at the northern end of the gulf, Foxnos (Foxe-nose of the text, p. 22), now better known as Cape Kerets, in lat. 65° 20′. The coast now turns to the north-east, and is known to Russians as the *Zimni*, or winter coast, because it faces the north, in contra-distinction to the *Letni*, summer, *i.e.* warm, coast opposite. The next name on Jenkinson's map is Zolotitsa; Burrough has Toua flu., probably a mistake, for the river is to the present day known as the Zolotitsa. Next is Point Penticost, Paynticost on Burrough's map, probably Cape Intsi, whose high, sandy cliff is visible twelve miles at sea. Northward again is Cape Boa Fortun, on Burrough's map Cape Good Fortune, now known as Cape Voronov, at the entrance to the Gulf of Mezen. This gulf receives the discharge of two rivers, the Mezen and another, named on Burrough's map Kowloay fl. (Kuloi river), but confused in Jenkinson's with the Pinego, a right affluent of the Dwina, as he correctly observes in his narrative (p. 23). He is, however, not far wrong in uniting the two, for the upper Kuloi runs so close to the Pinego that a distance of only seven to ten

miles separates them, and it is said that a canal unites these rivers.[1]

On the right bank of the Mezen, near its mouth, is Lampas, the great mart in those days for the Samoyedes and other northern nations. Near Lampas, on Jenkinson's map, is Sloboda (suburb), probably occupied by foreigners arriving from the south to trade with the people of the country in furs, etc. The next point is Cape S. Iois, Cape St. John on Burrough's map, now Cape Kanushin, the south-western extremity of Kanin peninsula. This peninsula is represented on both maps as an island, the fact being that in the narrow isthmus connecting it with the mainland, two rivers, the Chij and Chesha, the former flowing into the White Sea, the latter into the Arctic Ocean, are so nearly united in their upper courses that boats have sometimes passed from the White Sea into the Gulf of Cheshskaia in order to avoid the long circumnavigation of Kanin peninsula. At its north-western extremity is Cape Kanin, marked Caninoz on Jenkinson's, and Canynoze on Burrough's map. On both maps this peninsula is too wide by one-half from east to west in its broadest part, and the isthmus is not shown. East of Cape Kanin on Jenkinson's map is the name Morzouets, on Burrough's Morgeouets, probably referring to Cape Makovaia. Cheshskaia bay is shown, but not named on either of our maps, but on Burrough's its eastern shoulder, Suati noze (Cape Sviatoi) is named. Off this bay is the large uninhabited, and

[1] *Semeonof*, art. "Kuloi"; *cf. Herberstein*, in Hakl. Soc., ii, p. 38.

apparently uninhabitable, island of Colgoieue (Kolguev). The mainland opposite bears the name of Condora, also known as Kondia, so named after the river Konda, an affluent of the Irtish. According to Spruner-Menke, Kondia should lie south of Yugria. East of Condora, on Jenkinson's map, is shown the river Pechora (Burrough's only shows its mouth), flowing almost due north through lake Pustezora (Pustozero), visited by agents of the Russia Company[1] in the early years of the succeeding (seventeenth) century. Beyond this river lies a range of hills named on Jenkinson's map *Orbis zona montes*, the *Bolshoi Kamen* (great rock) of Russian coasters. From their position on Jenkinson's map, they are evidently the Pai-Khoi (Samoyed for "rocky range"), running parallel with the Kara Sea to Yugorsky Shar or Vaigats straits, and are therefore distinct from the Ural Mountains, represented on Gastaldo's, Herberstein's, and other old maps as the girdle of the earth, *cingulus terræ*. Thirty miles of tundra, plain, and lake separate these two ranges; yet it is somewhat remarkable that Jenkinson should have altogether omitted the Ural. On either side of these mountains he places Obdora (Obdoria), the country near the mouth of the Obi, subjugated by the Muscovites at the end of the fifteenth century, and included among the titles of the Tsar from the middle of the sixteenth century (text, p. 229). The island of Vaigats and the southern end of Nova Zembla are

[1] *Cf. Purchas*, ed. 1614, pp. 431, 433.

shown on both maps, doubtless from Stephen Burrough's survey in 1556, while Herberstein and Wied altogether ignore this region.

The Oba (Obi) formed the eastern limit of known territory at the end of the sixteenth century, and it was not till the year 1581 that Yermak, the Cossack, reached the banks of its chief tributary, the Irtish, and founded at Sibir a new empire for the Tsar. All beyond the Obi was conjectural, and it is therefore not surprising that the cartographers of that period should have represented this river in an exaggerated way. Wied, Gastaldo, and Herberstein place its sources in the Kitaysko lacus (Aral Sea). Jenkinson also makes it flow out of this lake, and leads his miraculous Ardok into it. On Herberstein's map Khanbalikh, the capital of China, lies on the bank of Kitaisko lacus, the name Kitaisco (Kithayan or Cathayan) having doubtless led him to suppose that Cathay or China began there—*Cumbalick regia in Kytay.* Jenkinson, more correctly informed, fills in the space to the east of the Aral and Obi with pictures and legends illustrative of the life of the nomad tribes. Yet even he repeats the story of the *Zlata Baba,* the golden hag worshipped by the inhabitants of Joughoria (Yugria) in the extreme north. He represents the figure much in the same way as Wied—a woman standing on a pedestal holding an infant in her arms, with another by her side (Wied shows only one child), and two men worshipping before her. The legend runs thus: "*Zlata Baba, it est aurea vetula ab Obdorianis et*

Iougorianis religiose colitur. Idolum hoc sacerdos consulit, quid ipsis faciendum, quove sit migrandum, ipsumque (dictu mirum) certa consulentibus dat responsa, certique euentus consequuntur." The earliest notice of this idol is found in Matt. v. Miechow (1517), who says: "*Accipiat (sc. lector) quod post terram Viathka nuncupatam in Scythiam penetrando jacet magnum idolum Zlotababa quod interpretatum sonat aurea anus seu vetula quod gentes vicinæ colunt et venerant, nec aliquis in proximo gradiens aut feras agitando et in venatione sectando vacuus et sine oblatione pertransit; quin imo si munus nobile deest, pellem aut saltem de veste extractum pilum in offertorium idolo projicit et inclinando se cum reverentia pertransit.*"[1]

It is curious to find the locality connected with this story removed further away as the century grows older: at first, it is beyond Viatka; then we hear of it in the region of Obdoria (Abdoria on Wied's map), on this side the Obi; and lastly, it appears in Yugria, beyond the great river. In the seventeenth century the idol is still referred to as located on the banks of the Ob, and a writer[2] of that period remarks that the golden woman had been compared with Isis, mother of the gods, and that in her temple were musical instruments used by the priests, in order to make the people believe that the idol spoke of itself. It is also worthy of remark that the family of this golden dame increases.

[1] Michow, *l.c.*, p. 136; a quotation from Grynæus, *Nov. Orbis.*

[2] Peter Petrigus de Erlemuda, quoted by Michow, *l.c.*, p. 137.

Herberstein represents her childless, with a wand in her left hand, and with the right outstretched. In his commentaries, however, he speaks of both children, and that one of these was believed to be her grandson.[1] Wied represents her with only one child in arms, and attended by four worshippers. Sebastian Munster omits any mention of her; and has, instead, a column with the figure of an animal at the top, and one worshipper below, referring to the *Stolp* (*Stolb*, a pillar) legend, perhaps connected with the "tower of Alexander", mentioned in the *Mesalak al Absar*.[2] Stone idols are not uncommon in various parts of Central Asia at the present day, as the writer can testify, having come across two in 1880, one at the public garden in Verny, the other at the post station of Altyn Immel (golden saddle), on the road to Kuldja.

Another of the pictures on Jenkinson's map represents two figures kneeling before a sort of flag attached to a pole, with the following legend:— "*Horum regionum incolæ Solem, vel rubrum pannum pertica suspensum adorant. In castris vitam ducunt; ac olim animatium (animalium) serpentium, verminumque carne vescuntur ac proprio idiomate vtuntur.*" Above are the words "Baida" (?) "Colmack". Wied has, in the same place, "Kalmucky horda", with tents and two men, one on horseback; and the note, "*Hi longum capillitium gestant*", an allusion to the long hair worn by Kalmuks, even at

[1] *Notes upon Russia*, Hakl. Soc., ii, p. 41.

[2] Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd edition, ii, p. 485.

the present day, in Turkestan. The allusion to sun worship is probably some mistake of Jenkinson's, for the Kalmuks are Buddhists by religion, with strong tendencies to Lamaism, except their northern kinsmen, the Buriats, among whom there are traces of Shamanism.

A region so remote and unknown as the banks of the Obi was a fertile ground for the most impossible stories or travellers' tales. Of these, Jenkinson gives us a specimen in the following legend:—"*Hæc saxa hominum iumentorum camelorum pecorumque ceterarumque rerum formas referentia, Horda populi gregis pascentis armentaque fuit: Quæ stupenda quadam metamorphosi, repente in saxa riguit, priori forma nulla in parte diminuta. Euenit hoc prodigium annis circiter* 300 *retro elapsis.*" Did Jenkinson believe, or expect his readers to believe, so miraculous a story? If so, he was more gullible than we could have supposed. It is impossible to say. But whatever may have been the origin, it is a pity that he should have repeated on his map, as fact, what could be nothing but fiction.[1]

[1] Possibly this legend may have prompted one of his biographers to compare him with Mendez Pinto and Sir John Mandeville (See *Gorton's Biographical Dictionary*). Purchas alludes to it in the following way:

"Master Jenkinson mentioneth a Nation liuing among the Tartars called Kings; which are also Gentiles, as are also the Kirgessen (of whom wee haue spoken) and the Colmackes, which worship the sunne, as they doe also a redde cloth, fastened to the toppe of a Pole, and eate serpentes, wormes, and other filth. Neere to which he placeth (in his Mappe of Russia) certaine Statues or Pillars of Stone, which sometimes were Hoords of men

Below this, again, is Cossackia, the country of the Kazaks, or Kirghiz, a people now spread over vast tracts, from the Ural to the Altai, and from Western Siberia to the Amu. They are described in the narrative (p. 90) as Muhammadans, but in the legend on the map an allusion is made to their heathen rites, thus: "*Kirgessi gens cateruatim deget, id est in hordis, habetque ritum huiusmodi; cum rem diuinam ipsorum sacerdos peragit, sanguinem lac et fimum iumentorum accipit, ac terræ miscet, inque vas quoddam infundit, eoque arborem scandit, atque concione habita in populum spargit, atque hæc aspersio pro Deo habetur et colitur. Cum quis diem* [*dies*] *inter illos obit loco sepulturæ arboribus suspendunt.*"

It was not till the middle of the sixteenth century that the Kirghiz were converted to Muhammadanism, their Khan, Kuchum, having first adopted this faith; and being extremely superstitious and much given to sorcery, they indulged in all kinds of curious practices.[1] That in the legend may have been one, though it no longer survives; moreover, it would be difficult to find trees strong enough to bear the weight of a man's body, as figured on the map, in the steppe where their camping-grounds are situate. The custom, however, of exposing the dead appears still to prevail, the writer himself having seen the bodies of two Kirghiz on bushes on

and Beasts feeding, transformed by diuine power (if it be not humane errour) into this stonie substance, retayning their pristine shape."—*Purchas*, 1614, p. 426.

[1] Levchine, *Description des Hordes et des Steppes des Kirghiz-Kazaks*, p. 330 *seq.*

the bank of a river where they had been drowned in attempting to cross.

Tashkend, on the Sur (Syr) is two degrees too far north; and to the south-east of it are more Kirghiz-Kazaks, who were, as the text says (p. 91), at war with Tashkend. South-west of Tashkend is Acsow, the town of Akhsi of Baber's memoirs, to the north of the Jaxartes; and beyond it, in the same direction, Andeghen (Andijan, in the valley of this river). Baber says of it that, "after the fortresses of Samarkand and Kesh, none is equal in size to Andijan".[1] South south-west of Tashkend is the city of Samarkand, with the inscription: "*Shamarcandia olim totius Tartariæ metropolis fuit at nunc ruinis deformis iacet, vna cum multis antiquitatis vestigiis. Hic conditus est Tamerlanes ille qui olim Turcarum Imperatorem Baijasitem captum aureis catenis vinctum circumtulit. Incolæ mahumetani sunt.*" From this it appears that Samarkand was already in ruins in the middle of the sixteenth century. Yet only sixty years before (1497) Baber describes it at the height of its glory;[2] so that its destruction must have taken place in the first half of the sixteenth century, during those frequent and devastating wars between the Uzbek princes and the descendants of Timur. In the south-east corner of the map is the name Mhogol (Mogol), so continually mentioned by Baber, whose dynasty, founded in Hindustan in 1526, was called after it. Balgh

[1] *Memoirs of Baber*, Leyden and Erskine, p. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

(Balkh), the ancient Bactria, stands on the map east of the hypothetical river Ougus. It should be south of the Amu and between this river and the Paropamisus range. To the east of it Cascara (Kashgar), with the legend: "*Cascara, hinc triginta dierum itinere orientem versus incipiunt termini imperii Cathaijæ. Ab his limitibus ad Cambalu trium mensium iter interiacet.*"

According to Hadji Mahomet, it was eighty-eight days (text, p. 107) from Kashgar to Succuir (Suhchau), on the Chinese frontier, by the northern route through Aksu, Kucha, Karashahr, Turfan, and Hami. Jenkinson, in the text (p. 92), allows nine months for the journey from Bokhara to Cathay. Deducting one month for the march to Kashgar, this would leave eight months to Cambalu (Peking), instead of four, allowed by his map. Richard Johnson's notes, however, agree with the map (pp. 101-103). The next place is Kirshi (Karshi), on the Ougus (? Oxus), placed south south-east of Bokhara, in about its true relative position, the hydrography being all wrong, as already stated. North of Bokhara, on the fictitious Amow, is Ghudou (? Kuduk Mazar; see Walker's map), Cosin (? Wan Ghazi), and Kÿrmina (Kermina), on the Zarafshan; lastly, Carakol (Kara Kul), on the left bank of the Oxus, instead of on the right. At the foot of the map are the Parapomisi montes, where, according to the text (p. 68), the Oxus should take its rise.

In Persia the following towns are marked on the map: Corosan magna (probably Herat), Meshent

(Meshed), Ardwen (Ardebil), Teubres (Tabriz), and Casbi (Kazvin). The people of this country are represented wearing long flowing robes, and high peaked hats; armed with sword and bow and arrows. The animals are the one-humped camel or dromedary, the two-humped species, now common in Turkestan, being conspicuous by its absence from the map. Media (Shirvan) is placed south-east of the Caspian instead of south-west, the towns Shamagi (Shemakha), Dirben (Derbent), Backow (Baku), and Shaueren (Shabran) being all out of place. It should, however, be observed that the map is dated 1562, before his return from his second journey, and therefore the southern coasts of the Caspian and countries bordering on them are delineated entirely from hearsay information, collected on his first journey.

The region of Turkmen (Turkomania) includes the lower Ougus (Oxus), with the towns of Mare (Merv) and Corasan parva (?), south of this river. To the last-named there is the following note: "*A rege Persico adiuuantibus Tartaris* 1558 *expugnata fuit.*" North of it is Cant (Kait of the text), Vrgence (Urgendj), Shaysure, the Sellizure of the text (p. 69), with the following legend: "*A Mangusla Shaïsuram usque* 20 *dierum iter habent, sine vllis sedibus cum summa aquæ penuria. A Shaïsura usque Boghar par itineris interuallum latrociniis infestum*", explained by his narrative (pp. 68-81). North of the Caspian, the rivers Yem (Emba), Yaick and Volga fall into this sea. About sixty miles from the mouth of the

Yaik stands the city of Sharachik (Saraichik), the head-quarters of the Nogai Tartars. Wied places Seraichik on the right bank of the Yaik, Herberstein near the estuary of the Volga; indeed, this part of Jenkinson's map is more correct than any of the older maps. Higher up the Yaik is Shakashik, a place we are unable to identify. On the right bank of the Yaik occurs the name of Bagthiar, having perhaps a connection with the tribe of Bakhtiari, now inhabiting Khuzistan, in Persia, of whom modern travellers, Baron de Bode, Rawlinson, Layard, and Abbott, have written.[1] The Bakhtiari were transplanted by Nadir Shah to the Turkoman frontier.

Two islands, Boghnata and Aourghan (Ak-Kurghan), near the northern coast of the Caspian, are mentioned in the text (p. 60). On the west coast are Tumensko (p. 127), too far south, and Shalcaue (Shamkhal). Stara and Noua Astracan (Old and New Astrakhan), the latter on an island, are shown on the map. Between the Caspian and Sea of Azof are the Chirkassi Petigorski, the Circassians of the five hills (*piat*, five, and *gora*, a mountain), from the five lofty mountains which overlook their country. These Circassians were subdued by Ivan in 1555, and their king's daughter became his second wife (text, p. 122). The broad lands of Tartary

[1] See *Journal, R. G. S.*, vols. ix, xiii, xvi, xxv. The late M. N. de Khanikof remarks on the uncertainty of the origin of the Bakhtiaris, some of whose tribes appear to have been of Turkish descent, while others were of Iranian and Semitic origin.—*L'ethnographie de la Perse*, p. 110.

extended right across Southern Russia, from the Sea of Azof on the west, to the Obi on the east. The fate of Tartary, however, was sealed by the fall of Kazan, and its final subjugation was merely a question of time.

Ascending the Volga, the first place we find marked on the map is Meshet, on the left east bank, nearly opposite Pereuolock (Perevolog of the text, pp. 55, 443), where the modern Tsaritsin stands. This Meshet is of some archæological importance, as it may undoubtedly be identified with the present village of Mechetnaia (*mechet*, a mosque) on the post road to Tsarev. Near this village are the remains of a great Tartar town, described by Pallas, and identified by him with Sarai, the capital of the Golden Horde. Among the ruins were those of a fortress, caravanserai, and mosque; and articles of value, such as gold saddle-ornaments, etc., were found. Col. Yule inclines to the opinion that the ruins near Tsarev are those of New Sarai, and that the older city, founded by Batu Khan, was lower down the Akhtuba, or eastern arm of the Volga.[1]

Higher up the Volga three tributaries join it on the left bank, the Ouruslaue fl. (Buguruslan), probably the riuer Kinel, which flows past the district town of Buguruslan in the Government of Samara; the Vrghiz fl. (Irghiz), a slowly meandering stream;

[1] *Cf.* Col. Yule's note on Sarai, in *Marco Polo*, second edition, vol. i, pp. 5 and 6. *Semeonof*, art. "Mechetnaia". A recent author, Max Schmidt, takes the same view as Col. Yule; *cf.* Petermann, *Mitth.*, 32 Band, 1886, ii, *Literaturbericht*, p. 15.

and lastly, the Samar fl. (river Samara), flowing from the Ural Mountains (text, p. 54). Neither Wied's nor Herberstein's maps show any tributaries of the Volga between its delta and the Kama. Jenkinson's information here is therefore both new and correct. On the right bank is the name of a people, the Mordua (Mordva of the text, p. 47), in much the same position as that occupied by them at the present day. Above these are the Ceremise Gorni (hill Cheremissi, *i.e.*, inhabiting the right high bank of the Volga); and above Kazan, on the left low bank of the same river, the Ceremise Lowgovoi (Cheremissi of the low land—*luga*, a meadow). Wied omits them altogether on his map, but Herberstein has Czeremissa Populi, above Kazan. These Cheremissi were a great worry to Ivan long after the fall of Kazan and the transfer to him of their allegiance. The Cama (Kama) flows in from the north-east and joins the Volga at its great bend to the south; the Viatka, a right tributary of the Kama, flowing near the town of Viatsko (Viatka), in the country of Vachin (p. 50).

Cazane gorode (the city of Kazan) stands at the confluence of a small river, the Kazanka, flowing out of a lake. In Wied's map it bears its Tartar name, Kassanorda. Higher up the Volga are Suiatsko (Swasko of the text, p. 48), Schabogshar (Cheboksari, p. 46), Vasili gorod (p. 46), Nisnouo gorod (Nijni Novgorod, p. 45), all on the right bank. Here the Volga is joined by its tributary, the Oka; but this name is reserved on Jenkinson's map for its upper course, the lower being named Mosko fl., a

tributary flowing past the city of Mosco. Ascending the Oka, the first affluent on its left is the Desma (Kliazma); higher up is the town of Muron, on the left bank, and Cassimgorode (text, p. 43), Mestzora (Meschersk) of Wied's map, and Casimow gorod of Herberstein's. Above this, on the same bank, are Tereckhoue (text, p. 43), and Prona, on a right tributary, doubtless the Prona.

Returning to the main river, the next place is Pereslaue (Riazan, p. 42), and above it Tereuetisko (Perevitsky, p. 41). At the fork of the Moskva and Oka stands the town of Kolom (Kolomna), the Collom of the text (p. 42), and above it, on both banks of the Moskva, the metropolitan city of Mosco. Moisaisky (Mojaisk), also on the Moskva, west south-west of Mosco, was a place of importance in the sixteenth century. It was here that Ivan built a strong fortress as a protection to Mosco in 1541.[1] Here, too, he sometimes received foreign ambassadors. North of Mosco is Troitsky, with a cross over the stamp to show that it is a monastery (see Appendix, pp. 369 *seq.*), and north of it again Peraslaue (Pereyaslaf Zalessky, p. 29), near its lake.

Returning to the Volga, the first place above Nijny Novgorod is Balaghna (Balakhna), on the right bank. To this town Ivan III, on subduing Novgorod in 1479, transferred some of its citizens. Higher up, and on the same side of the river, are Iouriauich (Yurievitch), Kmyshma (Kineshma), left by Ivan III in his will to Prince Belsky; and Plessa

[1] Cf. *Herberstein*, ii, 20.

(Pless), the scene of a great battle between the Russians and Tartars in 1540. Above this, stand Costrome (Kostroma) and Yearaslaue (Yaroslaf, p. 28), both famous for their flax trade, the latter much frequented by the English merchants in the sixteenth century, who built here their vessels for navigating the Caspian. Above Yaroslaf the Volga is joined by the Sheksna and the Mologa, erroneously united on the map. These two rivers are navigable, and form part of the elaborate canal systems uniting the Volga with the Gulf of Finland. The Sheksna, unnamed, is represented on the map flowing out of Lake Biatla-ozera (Bielozero, white lake); on Herberstein's map, Albus Lacus; and on Wied's, "*Belii Jesera hoc est amplum mare Huc tempore belli Dux Moscouiæ transfert thesaurum suum*". Wied's statement is confirmed by Herberstein, who remarks that the city does not stand in the lake itself, but is surrounded on all sides by marshes, so that it seems impregnable.[1]

Outside the elbow formed by the Volga, above its confluence with the Mologa, Jenkinson places the mythical town of Kholopia; on Wied's map, Holobe; and on Herberstein's, Chlopigorod. Herberstein relates an amusing anecdote concerning this place,[2] and says that it was a great mart town in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, resorted to by Turks, Tartars, and divers people from remote regions; but not a trace of it is left at the present day.

[1] *Herberstein*, ii, 31.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 27, 32.

On the Upper Mologa is Vstiug Zelezna, probably Ustiushna of modern maps. Returning to the main river, we find on the right bank Ouglets (Uglitch), where the unfortunate Dmitri, Ivan's youngest son, was killed by order of Boris Godunof; opposite is Casshim (Kashin), mentioned in Russian annals as far back as 1238, when Batu with his hordes took it. Higher up stands Goradine (Gorodetz), otherwise known as Vertiazin, destroyed by Ivan in 1569 upon a suspicion that its inhabitants were traitors. Twenty miles from Goradine is Tuer (Tver), once the seat of a principality. It was at Staritsa, near Tver, that our traveller had his last audience of the Tsar (p. 319).

North-west of Tver stands Torjok, a place known in these days for its elaborate embroidery on leather. Jenkinson's map places the source of the Volga, Rha or Edel (text, p. 98), in a lake named Volock lacus, whence the Boristhenes (Dnieper) and Western Dwina take their rise. It was a favourite notion of the old geographers that one great lake fed the sources of a number of rivers,[1] and Jenkinson appears to have fallen into the prevailing error. Agnese shows four rivers diverging from his Palus Magna, the fourth being the Neva. Wied and Munster have three, but Herberstein is better informed, for he travelled through this part of Russia, separates every river, and states in his commentaries that he had made the discovery that the Rha and Borysthenes did not rise from the same source. Volock,

[1] Cf. *Cathay*, p. 347.

the name given by Jenkinson to his fictitious lake, is mentioned by Herberstein as a fortified city twenty-four miles due west from Mosco.[1]

The Don, or Tanais, was regarded in the middle of the sixteenth century as the eastern limit of Europe. Jenkinson placed its source in the Rezanskoi ozero (lake of Rezan, p. 55), and made it flow through two more lakes, Plogo ozero (?), and Iuan ozero, the last of these being its true source. Agnese shows the course of the Don with its great easterly bend very well, but Wied and Herberstein both insert the two apocryphal lakes, and connect this river with the Oka. Jenkinson shows only one tributary of the Don, the Sosna. Herberstein has, besides, the Minor Tanais vel Donecz (Donets). At the estuary of the Don, in the Palus Meotis (Sea of Azof), stands the town of Asou (Azof), on the older maps Tana. Once a Greek, and afterwards a Genoese, colony, Azof had been a flourishing place of trade, and the starting-point of caravans bound for Cathay. In the sixteenth century it was a possession of the Turks. Wied's map has "*Assow Turca possidet*", and it was here they planned their expedition against Astrakhan in 1569 (text, p. 424). The Borysthenes, or Neper (Dnieper), rises, according to the map, in Volock lacus, flows past Smolensk, through the borderlands of Russia, Poland, and Lithuania, receiving a left tributary, the Sos (Soj), and afterwards the Desna. The old Russian town of Starodub stands in the angle formed by the Dnieper and Desna. On

[1] *Herberstein*, ii, 22.

the right bank of the former is Kiou (Kieff), "a Citie stately and beautifull, having in it three hundred churches and more", before Batu Khan and his Tartars destroyed it in 1241.[1] Wied and Munster place the city right across the river. To the west of the Dnieper is the legend "*Hæc pars Lituaniæ Imperatori Russiæ subdita est*", referring to Ivan's conquests in the earlier years of his reign (p. 35). On the Western Dwina the only place marked is Vitebsk; but this part of the map, as already stated, is the weakest. Neither Polotsk, Dünaburg, nor Riga, are shown. Sinus Finlandicus (Gulf of Finland) lies north and south, instead of east and west; as a consequence of this error, the rivers running into it have a westerly course, nearly parallel with the Dwina. Lakes Pskof and Peipus are both omitted, while Lake Ladoga is divided into two small lakes, Radiskoff (Ladoga) and Ourshock (Oreshok, the old name of Schlüsselburg), from the latter of which issues the Volgha fl. (Neva). Wied's errors have evidently been adopted without correction by Jenkinson, who had not seen this country when he made his map. Herberstein is more accurate. He gives to Lake Ladoga its relative size; shows the Neva flowing out of it; but confuses the Gulf of Finland with the Baltic, naming the two collectively Sinus Livonicus et Ruthenicus, the boundary of the Rutheni or Moscovites.

In the region about Pskof and Novgorod, on Jenkinson's map, the Velika fl. (river Veliki)

[1] *Purchas*, ed. cit., p. 404.

takes its rise near Owpocki (Owpotchka), flows north-east to Voronets (Voronetch),—two towns celebrated in the wars of Russia in the sixteenth century with Lithuania and Poland,—then north-west to Pskoue (Pskof), referred to in the early English narratives and documents as Plesco, Plasco, and Vopsko. Kebela, on Wied's map Kobela, is the modern Kublovsk. Opposite it, a river flowing from the south joins the Veliki (Narova), having no existence in fact, with eight town stamps, four on either side, without names. These appear on Wied's map as "4 *castra Moscouitarum*" and "4 *castra Liuoniorum*", on a river, also nameless, and probably represent the positions of the armed forces of Muscovy and Livonia, near Dorpat, before the outbreak of hostilities in 1555, the date of publication of Wied's map.[1] At the mouth of the Veliki (Narova) are the towns of Rougodine (Rugodin) vel Narue (Narva), the former being the name for Narva in the thirteenth century annals, and facing it on the right bank, Iuan gorode (Ivangorod), occupying the site of the ancient city of Rugodin, burnt by the Novgorodians in 1294.[2]

Next come Novogardia (Novgorod), the district, with its city, Nouogorod Velica (Veliki, *i.e.*, the Great), described by Chancellor in 1555, correctly placed at the outflow of a river, unnamed (the Volk-

[1] This would seem to show that the date 1555 on the map, in both of the lower corners, was really the year of its production, and not a slip, as Dr. Michow thinks. *Cf. ante*, p. cxx.

[2] *Semeonof*, art. "Ivangorod".

hof), from lake Ilma (Ilmen). Lake Ilmen is fed by no less than twenty streams, but the old maps, with their exaggerated way of drawing rivers, only find room for three. The chief of these, the Msta—on Jenkinson's map Vista—was crossed by Herberstein on his way from Novgorod to Mosco. This river, as he remarks, is navigable, and forms part of the Vyshni Volok canal system, the most direct but most difficult of the water highways, uniting the Volga with the Neva. The centre of this canal system and chief town of the district, shown on Jenkinson's map as Volochock (Vyshni Volochok), near lake Ilmen, stands on the Sna, at the upper end of the Tveretski canal, some distance from the lake. Volochok was destroyed by Ivan in 1569. Two other towns, Louke (Veliki Luki) and Borckoue (Porkhof), are placed south and south-west of lake Ilmen, on two of its tributaries, the Lovat and Sheloni. The former is mentioned in the annals of Novgorod of the twelfth century under the name of Luk, without the prefix Veliki (Great), and only acquired this title in the fifteenth century. The name is said to be derived from the elbow (*luk*, a bow) described here by the Lovat. Porkhof, on both banks of the Sheloni, is mentioned as a wealthy town in the fourteenth century, when it formed part of the province of Novgorod.[1]

Near the estuary of the river, erroneously named Volgha on our map, discharging into the Gulf of Finland, is the town of Yama, the Yamburg of the

[1] *Semeonof*, arts. "Veliki Luki" and "Porkhof".

present day, near St. Petersburg. In the north-western corner of the map the countries of Carelia, visited a few years later by Southam and Sparke (p. 194), Lappia and Biarmia, are named. Eastward again is Cargopolia, the province, with its chief town, Cargapowl (Kargopol), on the Onega, at the outflow of this river from a lake unnamed (Lacha). Kargopol is one of the oldest Russian settlements in the north, and though it has now sunk into insignificance, its history is by no means devoid of interest. It was to Kargopol that Prince Dmitry Shemiaka and Prince Johan Mojaisky fled from Vassili Vassilivitch the Blind, in 1447. In the early part of the sixteenth century Kargopol was an important place of trade, had its lieutenant-governor and other high officials, and received the privilege of trading in salt. In 1565, when Ivan divided Russia into a national and reserved portion, he selected Kargopol as his particular property.[1] The course of the Onega from Lake Ladoga through the Bielo ozero into Lake Lacha is imaginary, as this river only begins at the last-named lake, and the Onega lake, unconnected with the river, is not shown at all. It should, however, be borne in mind that the English had not yet visited this region, and that the information contained in earlier maps was vague in the extreme.

Wied has a string of lakes connected by rivers near the White Sea; three of these are named: Vigezero (Vyg ozero), Vodloiezero (Vodlo ozero), and Onega, and the last-named is connected by a river

[1] *Semeonof*, art. "Kargopol".

(the Svir) with Lake Ladoga. In the basin of the Dwina, however, where the English merchants and agents passed and repassed, our author's map is more accurate. Here the Vologda flows past the town of the same name to join the Sughana (Suhona). This last-named river leaves Coubensko lacus (Lake Kubensky, p. 25, note), has on its right bank Suchko, on the left Totma, then the following, all situate on the right bank—Brousensko, Bobronesko and Strelna. At the confluence of the Iug fl. (Yug) with the Suhona is the great mart town of Vstiug (Ustiug, text, p. 24). Below it the Dwina, owing its name (*dwa*, two) to the two rivers just mentioned, continues its course to the White Sea, receiving on the right the Voichegda (Vychegda), flowing from Permia, a region occupied on the map by a picture of two bears, and a town of the name of Permevelick (? Perme Veliki), not to be identified, however, with the city of Perm on the Kama, for this was only founded in 1568. Below the Vychegda the Dwina is joined by another right tributary, the Toima, and below this again by a left affluent, nameless (the Vaga), with the town of Shenkoria (Shenkursk) on its upper course. This province is named on the map Meschora, a name one would hardly have expected to find so far north, as it is identical with that of a race of Turco-Finnish origin, now inhabiting south-eastern parts of Russia, including part of the Government of Riazan. North of Meschora the Dwina enters the province named after it, and flows past Yemsa, Colmogro, and Pinega.

Summing up the merits and demerits of Jenkinson's map, the best parts are the northern and central, the districts on the Volga, White Sea, and Caspian. Here the topography is fairly correct, and the distances, when measured by the scale, not far wrong. The west and north-west are faulty, and are evidently borrowed from Wied. Owing to the want of longitudes, the Caspian Sea is extended too far to the west, part of it is almost due south of the White Sea, and the Gulf of Finland is also too far west. The materials used by Jenkinson, besides his own surveys and observations, probably comprised those of Stephen and William Burrough and other contemporary Englishmen. But on the whole, his map may be considered an original production far in advance of any that had up to that time appeared. It was included in the great atlas of Ortelius, and part of it was copied by Peter Van der Aa, in his *Aanmerkenswaardigste zee en Landreisyen* (Leyden, 1727), accompanied by an imaginary picture of Jenkinson's landing on the east coast of the Caspian.

Some idea may be formed of the estimation in which Jenkinson was held by his own countrymen from the extract already given of Richard Eden's preface to his translation of Cortez' *Arte of Navigation*, and from the following rhyming verse, taken from an old work, entitled *Albion's England*, by William Warner, London, 1602 :—

WARNER'S "*Albion's England*", *chap. lxvi, p.* 281.

It is no common Labour to the Riuer *Ob* to sayle,
Howbeit *Burrough* did therein, not Dangerles preuaile.
He through the foresayd frozen Seas in *Lapland* did ariue,
And thence, to expedite for *Ob*, his Labours did reuiue.
What he amongst the *Vaigats* and the barbarous *Samoeds*,—notes
Their Idols, Deer-skin Tents, how on their backs they bare their Botes,
In which, but Hides, securely they doe fish those Seas all day;
And how on Deere they ride, and all on Sleds by Deere conuay;
Do eate their Dead; to feast their friends their Children sometime slay;
Their store of Sables, Furres, and Pealts fetcht thence from farre away:
How at our *Crab* and *Lion* Signes their Frost and Snow is greate,—
Let be, and many things we might of this new Tract intreate,
By *Burrough* found, whose Praise not much is *Chancelors* behinde,
As Master in that Ship with him that first did *Russia* finde,
And in this Northeast Trade with Praise do *Pet* and *Iackman* mind.
Yeat longer (for not largelier One yeelds Matter) let vs dwell
Of *Ienkinson*. But where shall we begin his Lawdes to tell,
In *Europe*, *Asia*, *Affrick*? For these all he saw, in all
Imployd for *Englands* common good: Nor my rejoycing small,
That from *Elizabeth* to Raigne, and I to liue begunne,
Hath hapned that Commerce and Fame he to his Natiues wonne.
Now, vnder his Conduct, was hence vnto his Home conuaide
The *Russian* first Ambassadour, Heere honor'd whilst he staide.
Nor Captaine *Ienkinson* was there lesse graced, where he wrought
That all things to a wished end were for our traffique brought.
Here-hence also a friendly League twixt either Prince effected;
Nor little is their Amitie of vs to be respected:
For, though the Moscouites from vs be People farre remote,
Yeat, if how *Danes* and *Norses* haue inuaded vs we note,
And how the *Russies*, in the like Attempts, might hold them backe,
For onely it, were thence no Trade, ill might their Friendship lacke.
From *Mosco* then by Iournies long the *Caspian* Sea he crost,
Himselfe and Goods by *Tartars* oft in danger to be lost.
Their Hoordes of carted Tents, like Townes, which Camels drew; their Kings,
By names of *Murses*, *Sultans*, *Cans*, to whom for passe he brings
The *Russian* King his Letters; how (and royally they troe)
With Wild-horse flesh and Mares milke him the Kings did banquet tho;
Their hawking for the Wild-horse (For their Hawks will seaze vpon
The horses necke, who chaffing tiers [tears], and so is kild anon);
Their oft Remoues for Pastures fresh (nor Grasse their Pasture is,
But healthie Brush, few Cattell though doe thriue as theirs with this);

Their naither vse of Coyne, or Corne (for Tillage none is theare);
Such warriors and Horse Archers as they liue not whom they feare;
Their crosse-leg eating on the ground, Pluralitie of wiues
In *Turkeman* (So the whole is said), and more of their rude liues.
And how the Marchants trauailing by *Carauan*, that is,
Great Droues of laden Camels, Meate and Water often mis;
And how for vs did *Ienkinson* in *Bactra* Mart begin
Let passe; to passe to it for vs he did in *Persia* win;
Remembring this, that in Returne from *Bactra* diuers Kings
Sent in his charge their Legates, whom to *Mosco* safe he brings.
Thence did he sayle for *England*, Hence for *Mosco* backe againe,
And, with our Queene *Elizabeth* her letters, did obtaine
The *Mosicks* letters to the Kings by whom he then should pas
For *Persian* Traffique, and for this he thence im barked was.

Now in *Hyrcana*, *Shyruan*, or *Media* (all as one),
Suppose our *Ienkinson* before King *Obdolowcans* Throne.
Though sumptuous Citties he possest, yeat, for the Summers heate,
On airesome Mountaines held he then his Court, with Pleasures great:
Of silke and gold imbroyderie his Tents, his Robes inchac't
With Pearles and pretious Stones, and Looks Maiestie him grac't.
On Carpets rich they trode, rich traines on him attendance gaue,
With sixe score Concubines, that seem'd so many Queenes for braue.
Before his faire Pauillion was of water cleere a Fount,
Drinke for himselfe and his (for most of water they account).
Scarce *Cleopatras Anthony* was feasted with more cheere
Of varied Meates and spice Conceits than *Ienkinson* was heere:
In formall Hawking, Hunting, Chace, not thē came Tristram neere.
Such was this King for stately, such for affable and kinde,
There and abroad so lou'd and feard as like was rare to finde.
Yeat, notwithstanding such his Wealth, his Signorie, and State,
He of the *Persian Sophie* held his Land, subdued late;
But in such friendship, as the *Shaugh* (the *Sophie* so is saide)
Would yeeld to *Obdolowcan* in what so he should perswade:
Which well in *Ienkinson's* behalfe but shortly after made.
Him often questioned this King of vs and *Europs* strength,
And him, with Gifts and Priuiledge for Mart, dismist at length.
Silks raw and wrought, Spices, and Drugs, and more-els worth the Mart
Our Marchants fetch from thence; & theare our Marchandize cōuert.
Things wisely thus dispatched there, with men for his defence,
And letters from that King vnto the *Shaugh*, he traueld thence.
In trauell thitherwards he grieves, in wonder, to behold
The down-Fals of those stately Townes and Castels which, of old,
Whilst *Persia* held the Monarchie, were famous ouer all:
Nor *Alexander* wonne of these one Peece with labour small.

The mightie Citties *Tauris* and *Persipolis* he past ;
Two ruin'd Gates, sundred twelue miles, yet extant of this last.
The Gyants Wonders on the Hill of *Quiquiffs* heard he tolde,
And of the yearely Obit which their Maides to *Channa* holde :
This was indeed a wonder, for this Virgin so was bent
To Chastitie that, by selfe-death, the Marrage did preuent.
Here *Mandeuil*, perhaps, had bin and tooke occasion heere
To feare least *Elenor* in like might imitate too neere :
Even Ioyes in Loue discourage Loue, frō Ioyes resumeth cheere.
Of him, therefore, whilst *Ienkinson* rests at his Iornies end,
With *Obdolowcans* Sonne, that on the *Sophie* did attend.

Chapter lxviii.

At *Casben* hild the *Shawgh* his Court, who thirtie yeeres and odd
Had not been seene abroad, thereof by Prophesie forbodd.
Like Maiestie he kept, as those great Monarchs did before,
The *Macedons*, subdewed them : of Wiues he had like store,
Besides most bewtious Concubines not lesse than fifteene scorè ;
And yearely of the fairest Maides and Wiues doth make new choyce,
When much the Friends and Husbands of those chosen do reioyce.
Him blesseth he to whom doth he one of his Relicts giue,—
Yeat *Persian Shaughs* esteeme themselues the holiest Kings that liue.
For when a Christian (whom they call an Infidel, because
He not beleeues in *Mahomet*, nor *Mortezalies* Lawes)
Is cal'd to audience, least the same prophaine wheare he doth stand,
Must doffe his shooes, and to and fro tread on new-sifted sand.
Our Soueraignes Letters to the *Shaugh* so *Ienkinson* presents,
Who, being askt his arrant, said those Letters like contents,
But new-made Peace with *Turkie* him of new-sought Trade preuents.
The *Turkish* Marchants fearing least their Traffique might decrease,
Had by that *Basha* mard his Mart that then had made that Peace.
The *Shaugh* did also question his Beleefe, and quarrel it ;
So, well appaid is *Jenkinson* if well away he git.
Whom, with our letters to the *Turke* the *Shaugh* to send was bent,
Had not the *Hyrcane Murzey* Posts vnto his Father sent ;
And *Obdolowcans* Letters then disswaded that intent,
When, with a Present for himselfe, he Thence to *Hyrcan* went.
And theare did him the heart-trew King most kindly intertayne,
And thence dismisse with Giftes, when he no longer would remayne.
Nor onely his Ambassadors vnto his care commends,
But moment of that Ambassie which he to *Mosco* sends.
There now suppose them well ariu'd, and bringing gratefull newes
Of waightie Messages whearin the *Mosick* him did vse.

Conuenient time he nerethelesse for Persian Trade attends,
Which *Arthur Edwards*, thither sent, succesfully theare ends.
This *Edwards*, and a many here vnnam'd, deserued well
In these Imployments; but of All weare tedious al to tell,
For, sauing of Discouerers, we purpose not to dwell,
Els would we here reuiue, but that through *Hakluts* Pen they liue
(To him, your Fames sweet Trumpetor, Yee *English* Garlands giue),
A Catalogue of Names, that in this North and Northeast Climes
Have more obseru'd and more deseru'd than perish shall with times.
Nor be my Father here forgot: for he, amongst the rest,
Deserueth in this Generall remembrance with the best.
And here, from out those churlish Seas, with *Ienkinson* we sayle
To *London*, theare, an aged Man, to tell this youthfull Taile:
How he had past All *Europe*, seene all *Leuant* Ilands, and
Greece, *Turkie*, *Affrick*, *India*, *Sur*, *Agypt*, the holie Land,
And all the foresaid Lands, in all imployde and intertainde
Of Emperors and Kings, as if him selfe a King had raign'd.
Rest may thy honorable Bones, good old-Man in sweet Peace:
Nor haue thy *Phœnix*-Ashes since beene barren of increase:
But late had we a Fowle like rare, vs'd oftner Sea than Shore,
Ofte swam hee into golden Strands, but now will so no more,
For, though he were a dyuing Fowle, to Heaven did he sore.
In *England*, not *Arabia*, now the *Phœnix* Birdes be bread,
And euermore shall theare reuiue, when shall the olde be dead.
The Maiden Empresse, and her Knights, their Enterprises rare,
Which now haue pearst through euerie Pole, of all admired are.
Remaineth now, that we intreate of great Achiuements done
By *English*, in contrarie Clymes, since first her Crowne begonne;
But ride we first at Anker, though a roomesome Sea we haue,
To listen *Staffords* Comforts which to *Elenor* he gaue.

Another contemporary notice of him occurs on a terrestrial globe, one of the celebrated pair, terrestrial and celestial, made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1592, known as the Molyneux Globes.[1] It runs as follows: "*Ingens flumen Wolga & littus Septentrionaris Caspii, magistavam Vrgentiam urbem & regnum Bagariæ anno* 1558 *peruestigauat Antonius Ienkinsonus. Item* 1562 *Mediæ et Persiæ*

[1] Now in the library of the Middle Temple.

regna amplissima idem mare & flumen patefecit. Thomas Southam & Ioan Sparke ab oppido Colmogro ad urbem Novagordiem plusquam 1261 *mil. Rithe flumi penetrarunt* 1560." The latter part of course refers to Southam and Sparke's journey, given at p. 190 of our text.

Search has been made in vain for a portrait of Jenkinson. There appears to be no certainty of one ever having been taken. The portrait of Ivan, his great patron, is reproduced by photography from an original (said to be unique) in the possession of Senator Rovinsky, of St. Petersburg. In forwarding it, M. Vladimir Stassof writes: "Je crois que ce portrait n'est pas d'une complète ressemblance, cependant je vous l'envoie à cause de son immense rareté." It is engraved on wood by Hans Weighel, of Nuremberg, and represents the Tsar in the prime of life. The inscription runs as follows:

"*Die Bildnus Ywan Wasiliewitz des jetzigen Gross fürstenn Rewsen vn der Moschkaw.*

"Schaw, Mensch, hie hast in der Figur
Ein warhafftig Contrafactur,
Entworffen vnd mit Farb gemalt,
Mit Kleydung, Bildnus vnd Gestalt,
Des Grossfürsten in Rewsen jitz
Ywan Wasiliewitz.
Der Moschkawiter wird genandt
Der jitz mit gewaltiger Hand
Aus Newgarden seiner Haubstat
Ein mechtig Heer gefitret hat
Wider Polotzko vnuerholn
Des mechtigen Konigs zu Poln, etc.

"Gedruckt zu Nürnberg, durch Hans Weyghel Formschneyder."

The following is a translation:

"Behold, man, here hast thou in this figure
A true likeness,
Sketched and painted with colour,
With robe, face, and figure,
Of the Grand Duke now in Russia,
Ywan Wassilievitch,
Who is called the Moscovite,
Who now with powerful hand
From Novgorod, his chief town,
A mighty host hath led
'Gainst Polotsk,
Of the mighty King of Poland,[1] etc.

"Printed at Nuremberg, by Hans Weyghel,
form cutter [engraver]."

---

[1] From the allusion to Polotsk, the date of the portrait may be fixed as 1563, the Tsar being then thirty-three years of age.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

"*Dollymant*", p. 4.

From the Hungarian *Dâhlman*, from *dâhl*, red, and *man*, a thing. The Dâhlman was a short red cloak worn by the Hungarian guards. Dolman is still the term applied to the pelisse worn in our Hussar regiments.

". . . *great rockes of Alabastre* . . ." p. 24.

The following description is given of these rocks by Le Brun, a traveller of the last century:—"We found the bank rocky and elevated as we approached the Alabaster mountains, which are on the left as we advanced towards the north. We landed to see them. They are natural subterranean caves formed in a remarkable way, and are called by the people 'Pissoertje' (? petchki), *i.e.*, ovens. The principal entrance is supported on pillars of rock like pilasters, several of these opening on grottos. Their extent is said to be 30 versts (20 miles); but opinions differ on this point. . . . The rocks are as white as alabaster, but not so hard. This locality is about 150 versts (100 miles) from Archangel. The mountains form a belt here half a league wide, and visible for two hours along the river." (*Voyages de Corneille Le Brun*, vol. ii, p. 429.)

Jenkinson's route, and the old channels of the Oxus (see Introduction, p. xx, and text, pp. 69-74).

Extract from BARON A. KAULBARS' *Descriptions, etc.*

In 1559 took place the very interesting journey of Anthony Jenkinson, whose itinerary, owing to the scantiness of materials hitherto available, has been represented in the most strange fashion; and when all attempts to lay it down with any approach to probability led to negative results, it was alleged that

Jenkinson never made his journey, and that his narrative was therefore nothing better than fiction.

In our day, Jenkinson's itinerary and narrative may be explained in the most natural and certain way, and every idea of his want of good faith must disappear.

Jenkinson, as M. Lenz considers beyond doubt, landed on the peninsula of Mangishlak, in Kara-Kichu bay of Mertvi Kultuk gulf. Hence, on the 5th October,[1] he set out with a trading caravan of camels, and after twenty days' march arrived at a large freshwater lake,[2] which he took to be a gulf of the Caspian. He then adds: "Note that in times past there did fal into this gulfe the great riuer Oxus . . . and now commeth not so farre, but falleth into another riuer called Ardocke."

Starting from hence on the 4th October, the caravan reached on the 7th the castle of Sellizure (the Shaijzure of Jenkinson's map). This castle stood on a high hill. Here lived the Khan, in a poor, badly built palace with earthen walls. On the south side of the castle lay a wide plain, which, thanks to the water led hither from the Oxus by means of dykes, was exceedingly fertile; and Jenkinson adds that the withdrawal into irrigating canals of a large quantity of water had so weakened the Oxus that it no longer reached the Caspian Sea (*i.e.*, the freshwater lake which he took to be a gulf of that sea); and as the quantity of water in the river continues to diminish, when it shall altogether cease, all that country is doomed to become a wilderness.

Setting out from Fort Sellizure on the 14th October, after two days Jenkinson arrived at the town of Kunia Urgendj. The great freshwater lake, into which, according to Jenkinson, the Amudaria formerly discharged, can only have been lake Sari-Kamish, which at that time contained fresh water, because the present Urundaria (Oxus) had fallen into it, *i.e.*, not long before 1559, and at flood-time perhaps continued every year to flow into it, as may be surmised from the extensive irrigation works then in use supplied from the Oxus, and extending as far as the castle of Sellizure, two marches to the west of Kunia Urgendj.

The approximate distance from Kara-Kichu bay to Sari-Kamish, according to the most recent maps, is 475 versts, and, with wind-

[1] Jenkinson is sometimes confusing in his dates.

[2] "Where we found the water very fresh and sweete" (text, p. 67).

ings of the road, probably about 500 versts. This makes 25 versts (about 17 miles) for each of Jenkinson's twenty marches—the usual rate of travel of camel-caravans at the present day.

On rounding the northern shore of the lake, Jenkinson, it may be supposed, saw the lower Urun-daria, examined by us 314 years afterwards. Three marches farther he reached the castle of Sellizure, situate, in M. Lenz's opinion, on the summit of the southern chink (escarpment) of the Ust Urt. Jenkinson's description of the castle and its surroundings vividly reminded me of the ruins of Deú-Kesken, visited by us, situate on the cliff of the chink, at the southern foot of which we saw the wide plain still covered with luxuriant vegetation, seamed in all directions by dykes and traces of fields, among which stand habitations built long after Jenkinson's time, and in their turn already crumbling away.

The distance from the western shore of the present lake of Sari-Kamish, at most six or seven versts (about four miles) from the old eastern littoral, to Deú-Kesken is about 70 versts (about 47 miles), therefore three marches of 25 versts each. Sellizure, however, may be identified with another ruin on the chink of the Ust Urt, 10 to 12 versts (about eight miles) east of Deú-Kesken, of which the Turkoman guides told us, calling it *Shamak*, a name somewhat closer to *Shaijzure*, as the castle is named on Jenkinson's map.

This last name is so unlike any known in Central Asia, that there is ground for supposing an accidental error or misprint in Jenkinson's diary. (See *note* on p. 69.)

From Deú-Kesken to Kunia Urgendj by road the distance, as we travelled, is about 70 versts; this also may have been done in two marches, particularly if my supposition about the ruins of Shamak be correct.

From Kunia Urgendj Jenkinson started on the 26th November, and proceeding 100 miles along the water-course of the Oxus, reached the great river Ardok, flowing to the North with great swiftness, and on the 7th December he arrived at the fortress of Kath.

I have entered more fully into this itinerary, because it gives us the undeniable fact that *not long before* 1559 *the Urun-daria reached Sari-Kamish*, otherwise the water of this lake would have

been salt, as it is now[1]; but about the time of Jenkinson's arrival the water in the Urun-daria began to disappear, *i.e.*, to deflect towards the North; and as at the same time we learn from him about the great river Ardok, out of which, according to the description, flowed that Oxus along whose banks Jenkinson marched from Kunia Urgendj, and which, as I think, may be identified with the Kunia-daria, just as the Ardok with its northerly direction is probably the present Amu-daria.

With reference to the town of Kath, the most recent researches regarding its site did not lead to any definite results, though the old channel, Akcha-daria, examined by Colonel Sobolef, reminds us of the Kizil-daria of Abul-ghazi, at the mouth of which stood the town of Kath. Professor Lenz is of opinion that even before 1603 there was water in the Kizil-daria, and this afterwards disappeared in consequence of the great irrigation works undertaken by the father of Abul-ghazi on its banks (*Zapiski Imp. Russ. geogr. obshestva*, tom. ix, pp. 445-48).

"*Shirvanshah*" (see pp. 129 *seqq.*)

The history of Shirvan, like the country itself, is an almost untrodden by-path of literature, and had it not been for the labours of Professor Dorn, who has ably worked to fill in the gap, there would be a complete want of a good guide in this field of inquiry.

Dorn has written a history of Shirvan from the foundation of its independent dynasty by Naoshirvan, or Nushirvan (see note on p. 129), in the sixth century, to its final absorption in the great Russian empire about the beginning of the present century.[2] The earlier period of Shirvan history, when this country was ruled by its own princes, does not concern us in the present work, however interesting to the student of history: we have to treat of

[1] Dr. Lansdell, who visited Lakes Sari-Kamish as recently as 1882, found the water intensely salt, more so than sea-water, and its density so great that his instrument for the determination of the specific gravity of different waters would not sink below a point which, had the scale been continued, would have read 120° (*Russian Central Asia*, ii, 399).

[2] *Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Pétersbourg*, 6me série, Sciences Politiques, vols. iv and v.

Shirvan when it had fallen into the hands of the Sufi Shahs of Persia (1538-78), and the first few years of its subjection by Turkey.

In 1562, Anthony Jenkinson having landed at Shabran, proceeded to the court of Abdullah, whom he calls "Obdolowcan" (see p. 132), and by him was very hospitably received, as were also the other English agents—Alcock, Cheinie, Johnson, Kitchin, and Edwards, who followed Jenkinson. Abdullah Khan's governorship of Shirvan lasted from 1549 to 1565; and is thus alluded to by Dorn. After Solyman had withdrawn from Persia in 1549, Shah Tahmasp appointed a relative of his own, Abdullah Khan, son of Kara Khan Ustadshlu, to the governorship of Shirvan. The losses of the Turks had been so heavy during their invasion of Persia that Abdullah could employ all his resources to ward off the attacks of Burhan Ali Khan, son of Khalil, and the last reigning representative of the princely house of Derbend. It might have been expected that the inhabitants, after experiencing the hopelessness of resistance, would have submitted to be quietly governed by Abdullah, but such does not appear to have been the case. Whether from attachment to their own princes, or from fear of the consequences of having sided with Burhan, a party of them rose in revolt, and choosing for their leader one Mehrab, of the lineage of Burhan, appeared determined to stand by him to the last. Abdullah Khan suppressed this insurrection, and another one afterwards. In consequence of these victories his fame spread far and wide in Shirvan, and he was able to enjoy in peace for a few years the power and credit he had gained. In 1553 Solyman undertook his fourth campaign against Persia, sending a large force, under the command of Kasim, a scion of the princely house of Shirvan, into this country. No sooner had Kasim appeared before Derbend than the Shirvanis, doubtless reckoning on the powerful support of the Sultan of Turkey, threw off their allegiance to Abdullah and declared for Kasim. Abdullah, however, did not hesitate to march against the rebels, though vastly superior in numbers to his own force, consisting of only two thousand men. A battle was fought near the fortress of Gulistan (see p. 137), resulting in the complete defeat of the rebels, numbers of whom were slain. Of their decapitated heads it is recorded a tower was built (see p. 136), while the survivors fled into Tabaseran. Kasim was either left on the field of battle, or, as one authority has it, escaped

with his life, but disappeared without anything more being heard of him.

By the suppression of this revolt Abdullah Khan's power was still further increased. He exercised it with a wise moderation and firmness, and succeeded in making himself feared throughout Shirvan, Tabaseran, and Daghistan, so that no idea of opposing him was ever afterwards entertained. His power and the justice of his rule were equalled by his goodwill towards Europeans, and particularly towards the English, who were at that time making their first efforts to establish commercial relations with Persia, and especially with the rich silk-producing country of Shirvan, by way of the Caspian. We shall see how he endeavoured in every way to assist Jenkinson on his way to Persia, and how the latter, who always styles him "King of Hyrcania", owed the fortunate termination of his visit to the Shah to the powerful influence of his patron. Finally, when his mission to Persia had failed, it was from Abdullah Khan that he obtained a privilege of free trade in his dominions; showing that, although Abdullah Khan recognised the sovereignty of the Shah, yet in his own territory he was very independent, and could to a certain degree trade as he liked. Edwards, in recording his death in 1565, speaks of him as "this good king, our friend" (p. 385). He also mentions that it was rumoured that the son of Abdullah Khan would succeed his father. Edwards names him the Mursay, doubtless identical with Shah Ali Mirza, mentioned by Jenkinson (p. 141) as having shown him so much kindness during his stay at Kazvin. These rumours and hopes, however, were unfulfilled, and there were many changes and disorders in Shirvan after Abdullah's death—the officials were partly discharged from their posts and partly fined; others were sent to the Shah; and the office of governor was for some time vacant, till at length it was given, not to Abdullah's son, but to Ares Khan Ramlu, who held it during the remainder of Tahmasp's life.

Ares Khan Ramlu (1566-78) was master of the court and tutor of Prince Sultan Mahmud Mirza, son of Tahmasp. As long as Tahmasp lived, and the peace concluded between Persia and Turkey in 1560 remained unbroken, Shirvan was quiet, and Ares Khan appears to have ruled his province without any remarkable occurrence. During his governorship the visits of the English continued. Edwards, who arrived in Shemakha in 1565, left it in

April the following year—Ares Khan was, however, not then governor—and travelled to Kazvin, where he received from the Shah, partly through the mediation of two Shirvani notables, a privilege for the English trade to Persia. Edwards then returned to Shemakha, where he again stayed some time, and appears to have left it in 1567. One year later, in 1568, the same traveller returned, when "Eras becke Sultan" (p. 407) was exercising almost the power of an independent prince, if we may judge from the slight regard shown to the Shah's letter of protection, and the way all the Englishman's goods were opened. Afterwards, Ares Khan showed a more friendly disposition, and concerned himself to provide camels to carry the English wares to Shemakha, where Edwards, accompanied by Sparke, Chapman, Faucet, and Pingle, arrived on the 1st September 1568.

In 1568-9, three Englishmen, Bannister, Duckett, and Plumtree, visited Shemakha, and remained there till April 1570, afterwards travelling to Ardebil. But in 1571 Bannister returned to Shemakha, and proceeded thence to Arash, at that time an important place of trade, where he died. When Plumtree left Shemakha secretly, in order to travel to Cathay, Ares Khan, concerned for his safety, had him recalled (p. 428).

Upon the death of Tahmasp in 1576, affairs in Shirvan took a different turn. In Persia itself there were disturbances arising out of the disputed succession, and at length the weak Muhammed Khudabendeh (1578-85) was placed on the throne. Persian historians assert that during his reign the Persian kingdom was in the greatest confusion. News of these disturbances spread rapidly into other countries, and it is not surprising that the Emperor of Turkey, Murad III, should have thought of gaining what advantage he could for his own state, and annexing new provinces. Among these were Azerbaijan and Shirvan, where disorders had freshly broken out, and where the power of the Persians was hardly recognised. Any scruples that Murad might have had about breaking the treaty with Persia might have been removed by the invitations which reached him to interfere on behalf of the native princes of Shirvan, who, in the person of Abubekr, son of Burhan, had once again taken up arms. Another motive for his interference was the religious one, the Shirvanis being Saunis, like the Turks. All this excited in Murad the desire to conquer Azerbaijan and Shirvan. He therefore sent Mustapha

Pasha, at the head of a large army, against Persia, while at the same time he ordered Muhammed Ghirai Khan of the Crimea to cross the Khazarian steppe and co-operate with the Turks. Mustapha's success was surprising. The Persians, though fighting bravely, were beaten and driven back, chiefly owing to their want of cohesion and combined action. Their best commanders fell, and the Azerbaijan troops were repeatedly routed. Mustapha, who had been joined by Alexander, King of Kakhetia, marched quietly into Shirvan, where he received the submission of the Lesghian and Daghistan chiefs; while Ares Khan, governor of Shirvan, a sensible, prudent man, finding that he could not maintain himself, retired across the Kur, where he encamped. In this way Shirvan fell into the hands of the Turks in 1578.

Mustapha Pasha now thought he might rule the conquered countries by governors. He appointed Osman Pasha Beglerbeg of Shirvan, dividing it into fourteen sanjaks or districts. He left Gaias Pasha in Arash, and governors in the other provinces, renewed the fortifications of Shemakha, Arash, and Baku, and withdrew. Abubekr Mirza, who thereupon became tributary lord of Shirvan, remained in that country to take whatever further steps were necessary, with the assistance of the Turks, in order completely to subjugate it.

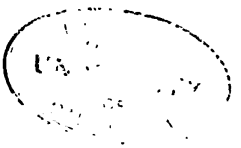
But no sooner had the Turkish leaders departed than the Persians again took the field, and Ares Khan, the former governor, in the fighting which ensued, to borrow an expression of the Persian historian, "won a martyr's crown". The events of this year (1578) are briefly referred to by Christopher Burrough (see pages 447 *seqq.*, 452, and notes, *ib.*).

THE TRAVELS

OF

ANTHONY JENKINSON,

ETC.



THE TRAVELS
OF
ANTHONY JENKINSON.

The manner of the entring of Solyman the Great Turke with his armie into *Aleppo*[1] in *Syria*, marching toward Persia against the great Sophie, the fourth day of Nouember 1553, noted by Master Anthonie Ienkinson, present at that time.[2]

THERE marched before the Grand *Signior*, otherwise called the Great Turke, 6,000. Esperes,[3] otherwise called light horsemen, very braue, clothed all in scarlet.

After marched 10,000. men, called *Nortans*, which be tributaries to y^e^ Great Turk, clothed all in yellow veluet, and hats of the same, of the Tartarie fashion, two foote long, with a great

[1] The appearance of Jenkinson at Aleppo was made at the time of the setting out of Solyman II (the Magnificent) against Persia in the autumn of 1553. This expedition was brought about, in a great measure, by the machinations of the famous Khousrem, a Russian by birth, better known as Roxolana, the Sultan's favourite wife, in order to secure the death of Mustapha, the Sultan's eldest son by a Circassian slave. In order to obtain her ends, it was suggested that Mustapha, as Governor of Karamania, was about to enter into an alliance with the Persian king against his father. An old historian writes :—" This tale suspitiously told, raised in the wicked and vnnatural father new and great suspicions. Wherfore, the yeere following, which was the yeere 1553, he (the Sultan) raised a great armie, giving it out, that the Persians had with greater power than before invaded *Siria*, and that therefore he, for the loue of his country and defence of his empire,

[2] *Hakluyt*, 1589, p. 81.

[3] Probably a misprint for *Espeies*, *i.e.*, Spahis, light cavalry ; the same word as Sepahi, Sepoy.

robe of the same colour about their foreheads, richly decked, with their bowes in their hands, of the Turkish fashion.

After them marched foure Captaines, men of armes, called in Turkish *Saniaques*,[1] clothed all foure in crimson veluet, euery one hauing vnder his banner twelue thousand men of armes, well armed with their morrions[2] vpon their heads, marching in good order, with a short weapon by their sides, called in their language *Simittero*.[3]

After came 16,000. *Ianizaries*,[4] called the slaues of the Grand *Signior*, all afoote, euery one hauing his harquebushe, who be his gard, al clothed in violet silke, and apparelled vpon their heads with a strange forme, called *Cuocullucia*,[5] fashioned in this sort: the entring in of the forehead is like a skull made of white veluet, & hath a traine hanging downe behinde, in manner of a French hoode, of the same colour, and vpon the forepart of the saide skull, iust in the middes of his forehead, there is standing bolt vpright like a trunke of a

was determined to goe thither with his armie, and in person himself represse the attempts of his enemies. Wherefore the armie being assembled, and all things necessarie orderley prouided, he commanded to set forward, and in a few days after followed himself; who coming at length into Siria, presently by trustie messengers commanded Mustaph to come vnto him at Aleppo, for there he lay encamped." Mustapha, by the orders of his father, was afterwards bowstringed and strangled in his father's tent at Enegli. R. Knolles, *Historie of the Turkes*, 1603, p. 761; Hammer Purgstall, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. vi, p. 56.—C.

[1] Sanjak, a governor of a district forming part of a Pashalik.

[2] Morion, an open helmet. [3] Scymetar.

[4] The Janizaries. Turk. "yeni", *new*, "tcheri", *soldiers* (*i.e.*, new soldiers), often Christians. They were first organised under Sultan Amurath I (1360). Their first revolt was under Solyman I (1512), on account of their being compelled to winter in Tauris, or Tabriz, in Persia. The second was caused by the murder of Mustapha. (See note *supra*. Cf. Knolles, pp. 191, 512, f. 764; also Hammer, vi, 57.) Their final revolt was at Constantinople, when they were defeated and disbanded in 1826.—C.

[5] "Cuocullucia", evidently a corruption of the Turkish "kùkulèta", a hood. From the Italian "cocolla", a monk's cowl.

foote long of siluer, garnished most richely with Goldsmiths worke, and pretious stones, and in the toppe of the saide trunke a great bush of feathers, which wauereth vp and downe most brauely when he marcheth.

After this there came 1,000. pages of honour, all clothed in cloth of golde, the halfe of them carying harquebushes, and the other halfe Turkish bowes, with their trusses of arrowes, marching in good order.

Then came three men of armes well armed, and vpon their harnesse coates of the Turkes fashion, of Libard skinnes,[1] and murrions vpon their heads, their speares charged, and at the ende of their staffe, hard by the head of y^e^ speare, a horse taile died in a bloody colour, which is their ensigne: they be the challengers for the Turkes own person.

After them came seuen pages of honour in cloth of siluer, vpon seuen white horses, which horses were couered with cloth of siluer, all embrodered and garnished with pretious stones, emerauds, diamonds, and rubies most richly.

After them also came six more pages of honour, clothed in cloth of golde, euery one hauing his bowe in his hand, and his fawchine of the Turks fashion by his side.

Immediately after them came the Great Turke himselfe, with great pompe & magnificence, vsing in his countenance and gesture a wonderfull maiestie, hauing onely on each side of his person one page clothed with cloth of golde: he himselfe was mounted vpon a goodly white horse, adorned with a robe of cloth of golde, embrodered moste richly with the most pretious stones, and vpon his head a goodly white tuck, containing in length by estimation fifteene yards, which was of silke and linnen wouen together, resembling something Callicut[2] cloth, but is much more fine and rich, and in the toppe of his crowne a little pinnach (*sic*) of

[1] Libbard, a leopard.—Spenser and Milton.

[2] Calicut, on the coast of India, Bombay Presidency. Our word "calico" is derived from it. This is probably the earliest use of this term in the English language.

white Ostrich feathers, and his horse most richly apparelled in all points correspondent to the same.

After him followed six goodly young Ladies, mounted vpon fine white hackneis, clothed in cloth of siluer, which were of the fashion of mens garments, embrodered very richly with pearle, and pretious stones, and had vpon their heades caps of Goldsmiths worke, hauing great flackets of heare hanging out on each side, died as red as blood, and the nailes of their fingers died of the same colour, euery of them hauing two eunuches on each side, and litle bowes in their hands, after an Antike fashion.

After marched the Great Basha, cheefe conductor of the whole armie, clothed with a robe of Dollymant[1] crimson, and vpon the same another short garment very rich, and about him fiftie Janizaries afoote, of his owne gard, all clothed in crimson veluet, being armed as the Great Turks owne Janizaries.

Then after ensued three other Bashas, with slaues about them, being afoote, to the number of three thousand men.

After came a companie of horsemen very braue, and in all points well armed, to the number of foure thousand.

All this aforesaid armie, most pompous to behold, which was in number foure score and eight thousand men, encamped about the citie of *Aleppo*, and the Grand *Signior* himselfe was lodged within the towne, in a goodly castle situated vpon a high mountaine: at the foote whereof runneth a goodly riuer, which is a branch of that famous riuer *Euphrates*.

The rest of his armie passed ouer the mountaines of *Armenia*, called nowe the mountaines of Camarye, which are foure daies iourney from *Aleppo*, appointed there to tarie the comming of the Grand *Signior*, with the rest of his armie, intending to march into Persia, to give battell to the Great Sophie. So the whole armie of the Grand *Signior*, containing as well those that went by the mountaines, as also

[1] See supplementary note, p. clv.

those that came to *Aleppo* in companie with him, with horsemen and footemen, and the conductors of the camels and victuals, were the number of 300,000. men.

The camels which caried munition and victuals for the said armie, were in number 200,000.[1]

The safe conduct or priuilege, given by Sultan Solyman the Great Turke, to *Master Anthony Ienkinson* at Aleppo in Syria, in the yeere,[2] 1553.

SULTAN SOLYMAN, etc., to all Viceroyes, Saniaques, Caditz, and other our Justicers, Officers, and Subiects of *Tripolis* in *Syria*, *Constantinople*, *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and of all other Townes and Cities vnder our Dominion and iurisdiction: we will and commaund you, that when you shall see *Anthony Ienkinson*, bearer of these present letters, marchant of London in England, or his factor, or any other, bearing the said letters for him, arriue in our ports and hauens, with his shippe or shippes, or other vessels whatsoeuer, that you suffer him to lade or vnlade his marchandise wheresoeuer it shal seeme good vnto him, traffiking for him selfe in all our countries and dominions, without hindring or any way disturbing of him, his shippe, his people, or marchandise, and without enforcing him to pay any other custome or tol whatsoeuer, in any sorte, or to any persons whatsoeuer they be, saue only our ordinary duties, contayned in our custome houses, which when he hath paide, we will that he be franke, and free, as well for himselfe, as for his people, marchandise, shippe, or shippes, and all other vessels whatsoeuer, and in so doing that he may trafficke, bargaine, sell, and buy, lade, and vnlade, in all our foresaide Countries, landes, and dominions, in like sorte and with the like liberties and priui-

[1] In *Hakluyt* mention is made of the presents given at the same time to the Sultan by the Pashas of Aleppo, Amante (Hamath ?), and Damascus, and the Sanjak of Tripoli. [2] *Hakluyt*, 1589, p. 82.

ledges as the Frenchmen and Venetians vse, and inioy, and more if it be possible, without the hinderance or impeachment of any man. And furthermore, we charge and commaunde all Viceroyes and Consuls of the French nation, and of the Venetians, and all other Consuls resident in our Countreys, in what port or prouince soeuer they be, not to constraine, or cause to constraine by them, or the sayde Ministers and Officers whatsoeuer they be, the saide *Anthony Ienkinson*, or his factor, or his seruants, or deputies, or his marchandise, to pay any kinde of consullage, or other right whatsoeuer, or to intermeddle or hinder his affaires, and not to molest nor trouble him any manner of way, because our will and pleasure is, that he shall not pay in all our Countries, any other then our ordinarie custome. And in case any man hinder and impeach him aboue and besides these our present letters, we charge you most expressly to defende and assist him against the sayde Consuls; and if they will not obey our present commaundement, that you aduertise vs thereof, that we may take such order for the same, that others may take example thereby. Moreouer, wee commaunde all our Captaines of our Gallies, and their Lieutenants, be they Foystes[1] or other vessels, that when they shall finde the sayde *Ienkinson*, or his factor, his shippe or shippes, with his seruants, and marchandise, that they hurt him not, neyther in bodie nor goods, but that rather they assist and defend him against all such as seeke to doe him wrong, and that they ayde and helpe him with victuals, according to his want, and that whosoeuer shall see these presents, obey the same, as they will auoide the penaltie in doing the contrarie: Made in *Aleppo* of *Syria*, the yeere 961. of our holy Prophet *Mahomet*, in the yeere of Jesus 1553, signed with the scepter and signet of the Grand *Signior*, with his owne proper hande.[2]

[1] Foist, a vessel with oars, smaller than a galley.

[2] In the original 1589 edition of Hakluyt's *Travels* is added the following :—"The very originall hereof was deliuered me Rich. Hakl. by Master Ienkinson in the Turkish and French tongues."

Instructions giuen to the Masters and Mariners to be "obserued in and about this Fleete, passing this yeere 1557, towards the Bay" of S. Nicolas in Russia, for this present Raze to be made, and return of the same by Gods grace to the port of London, the place of their right discharge, as in the Articles ensuing is deduced.[1]

FIRST, it is accorded and agreed betweene the seuerall proprietories and owners, masters and companies of the foure ships, surnamed the *Primrose*, the *Iohn Euangelist*, the *Anne* and the *Trinitie*, and the Lieutenant, Consuls, assistants and companie of the Marchants aduenturers, that the above named foure shippes shall in good order and conduct saile, passe, and trauaile together in one flote, ginge, and conserue of societie, to be kept indissolubly to be seuered, but united within continuall sight, so farrefoorth as (by winde and weather) by possibilitie shall or may be without any seperation or departure of one from the other.

2. Item, it is agreed that the good ship named the *Primerose* shalbe Admirall of this flote, and that *Anthonie Ienkinson*, Gentleman, shalbe Captaine thereof, and that all the other 3. ships shall ensue and folow her in all courses, and that no course nor waying (in harborough especially) shall be made without the aduice, consent, and agreement of the saide Captaine, the Master, his mate, and two other officers of the said shippe, or of three of them at the least.

3. Item, that the said Anthonie is and shalbe reputed and taken for Captaine generall of the said flote, together with all such orders, preeminences, priuiledges, and preferments as by the order of seas is due and accustomed to a Captaine during his aboade and exercise of the same.

[1] *Hakluyt*, 1589, pp. 332-3.

4. It is also ordeined, that if any one or moe of the said 3. shippes shalbe out of sight, either before or behinde the Admirall, that then the rest of the shippes shall tacke or take of their sailes in such sort as they may meete and come together, in as good order as may be, to the intent to keepe the consortment exactly in all points.

5. It is also constituted, that if the ships shalbe seuered by miste or darke weather, in such sort as the one cannot haue sight of the other, then and in such case the Admiral shal make sound and noise by drumme, trumpet, horne, gunne or otherwise or meanes, that the ships may come as nigh together, as by safetie and good order they may.

6. It is also to be obserued, that euery day once the other three shippes shall sende and come aboord the Admirall, and there consult and determine of such matter and things as shall be for the assurance of their Nauigation, and most expedition of the same.

7. Item, that notes & entries be dayly made of their Nauigations put in writing & memorie, & that the yong Mariners and apprentices may be taught & caused to learne and obserue the same,

8. It is accorded that the said Captaine shall haue the principal rule and gouernement of the apprentices: And that not onely they, but also all other the sailers, shalbe attendant and obedient to him, as of dutie and reason appertaineth.

9. Also that no beere nor broth, or other liquor, be spilt vpon the balast, or other place of the shippe, whereby any anoyance, stinke, or other vnsauorines shall grow in the shippe to the infection or hurt of the persons in the same.

10. Item, that the Captaine by discretion shall from time to time disship any artificer or English seruingman or apprentice out of the *Primerose* into any of the other three shippes, and in lieu of him or them, take any such apprentice as he shall thinke conuenient, and most meete to serue the benefite of the Companie.

11. Item, that great respect be had to the gunners and cookes roomes, that all danger and perill of powder and fire may be eschewed and auoyded.

12. Item, that singular care & respect be had to the ports of the ship, as well in Nauigation as in harborow, & especially in lading and vnlading of the ships, that nothing be lacking or surcharged; and that the bookes may oftentimes be conferred & made to agree in eschuement of such losses as may ensue.

13. Special foresight is to be had, that at the *Wardhouse* no treachery, inuasion, or other perill of molestation be done or procured to be attempted to our ships by any kinges, princes, or companies, that do mislike this newe found trade by seas to *Russia*, or would let and hinder the same, wherof no small boast hath bene made: which giueth occasion of more circumspection and diligence.

14. If the winde & weather wil serue, it is thought good rather to go by the Wardhouse, then to come in and ancre there, lest any male engine, or danger may be the rather attempted against vs, our goodes and shippes as aboue.

15. It is thought that *Richard Iohnson*, late seruant to M. *Chanceler*, shal be sent home in this next returne, to instruct the companie of the state of the Countrey, and of such questions as may be demanded of him, for our better aduertisements and resolutions, in such doubts as shall arise here: and that he shall haue the roome of the Captaine in such sort, as Master *Ienkinson* is in this present cocket assigned vnto. And if *Iohnson* can not, may not, nor will not returne and occupie the said place, then any other person to be preferred thereunto, as by the discretion of our said Captaine, with consent of our Agents, shall be thought meete and apt to supply the same.

16. Prouided alway, that the shippes returning, be not disfurnished of one such able man, as shall occupie the Captaineship in like order, as is, and hath bene in such case appointed, as reason and good order requireth.

17. Item, that all other former orders, rules, and deuises, made and prouided for the good order of our shippes, wares, and goods, being not repugnant, contrarie or diuerse, to these articles, and the contents of the same, shall be, and stand in ful force and effect, to be in all respects obserued, and kept of all and euery person, and persons, whome the same doth or shall touch or concerne.

In witnesse of the premisses faithfully to be obserued, and kept, the owners and Masters of the said foure shippes, together with the said Captaine, to these seuenteene articles, contained in two sheetes of paper, have subscribed their hands. Giuen in London the third of May, in the yeere of our Lord God, 1557.

¶ Owners of the *Primerose*[1]—
ANDREW IUDDE.
WILLIAM CHESTER.
ANTHONY HICKMAN.
EDWARD CASTELINE.

¶ Owners of the *Iohn Euangelist*—
ANDREW IUDDE.
WILLIAM CHESTER.

¶ Owner of the *Anne*—
IOHN DIMOCKE.

Owner of the *Trinitie*—
R. T.

[1] *Primrose*, 240 tunnes, Master John Buckland ; *John Euangelist*, 170 tunnes, Master Laurence Roundal ; *Anne*, of London, 160 tunnes, Master David Philby ; *Trinitie*, of London, 140 tunnes, Master John Robins.—*Hakluyt*, 1599, i, 297.

The first voyage made by Master Anthony Ienkinson,

from the Citie of London, toward the land of Russia, begonne the twelfth day of Maye, in the yeere, 1557.[1]

FIRST, by the grace of God, the day and yeere aboue mentioned, I departed from the said Citie, and the same day at *Grauesend* embarked my selfe in a good shippe, named the *Primerose*, being appointed, although vnworthy, chiefe captaine of the same, and also of the other three good shippes, to say, the *Iohn Euangelist*, the *Anne*, and the *Trinitie*, hauing also the conduct of the Emperour of Russia, his ambassadour, named *Osep Nepea Gregorewich*,[2] who passed with his company in the said *Primerose*. And thus our foure tall shippes being well appointed, as well for men and victuals, as other necessarie furniture, the saide twelfth day of the moneth of Maye, we weyed our ankers, and departed from the saide *Grauesend*, in the after noone, and plying downe the Thames, the wind being Easterly, and faire weather, the 13. day we came a ground with the *Primerose* vpon a sand called the Blacke taile,[3] where we sate fast vntill the 14. day in the

[1] *Hakluyt*, 1589, pp. 333-338. [2] See *infra*, note, p. 26.

[3] Blacktail spit is on Maplin sands, just beyond Shoeburyness. In an old book of sailing instructions in the library of the Geographical Society, entitled "*The Lighting Colomne or Sea Mirrour*, by Peter Goos: dwelling on the water hard by the new bridge at the signe of the golden sea-mirrour", printed at Amsterdam, 1638, the following directions are given (p. 50) for sailing this coast:—"From the Shoebeakon the course is almost southwest to the poynt of Blacktayle, there runneth off a Hooke which men might saile within comming from the northwards; but if you keepe from the shoare in 7 fathom, you cannot take hurt of it, but in five fathom you runne within it . . . . . From Blacktayle to the beacon upon the Nore the course is West southwest." . . . At the outset of the voyage the ships were unfortunate: the *Primrose* ran aground on Blacktail spit, two of the others also met

morning, and then God be praised, she came off: and that day we plied downe as farre as our Ladie *Holland*,[1] and there came to an anker, the wind being Easterly, and there remained vntill the 20. day: then we weyed and went out at Goldmore gate,[2] and from thence in at *Balsey* slade,[3] and so into *Orwel* wands,[4] where we came to an anker: but as we came out at the saide Goldmore gate, the *Trinitie* came on ground on certaine rockes that lye to the Northward of the saide gate, and was like to be bilged and lost. But by the aide of God, at the last she came off againe, being very leake: and the 21. day the *Primerose* remaining at an anker in the wands, the other three shippes bare into *Orwel* hauen, where I caused the saide *Trinitie* to be grounded, searched, and repaired. So we remained in the said hauen vntill the 28. day: and then the winde being westerly, the three shippes that were in the hauen weied, and came foorth, and in comming foorth the *Iohn Euangelist* came on ground vpon a sand, called the *Andros*,[5] where she remained one tide, and the next full sea she came off againe without any great hurt, God be praised.

The 29. day in the morning all foure ships weied in the

with accidents, the *Trinity* touched the rocks to the north of Goldmore gate and was nearly lost, and the *John Evangelist* grounded in coming out of Orwell wands. Navigation in those days was attended by many difficulties, and shoals and rocks were doubtless very imperfectly buoyed.

[1] In later editions "our ladie of Holland", so named after the church dedicated to the Virgin, now in ruins. It is a promontory on the coast of Essex, now marked as Little Holland; about a mile off is Holland Hall. Stephen Burrough mentions anchoring thwart "our Ladie of Holland".—*Hakl.*, 1589, p. 311.

[2] Goldmore gate was the southern entrance into Harwich harbour.

[3] Balsey slade, the passage marked on old charts "the Sledway". The word "slade" is the Anglo-Saxon *släd*, the Icelandic *sládr*, signifying a flat piece of low, moist ground.—Webster's *Dictionary*.

[4] Orwell wands, the estuary of the Orwell.

[5] Andrew's shoal is close to Orfordness. Capel St. Andrew now stands a little way inland.

Wands, and that tide went as farre as *Orfordnesse*, where we came to an anker, because the wind was northerly: And about sixe of the clocke at night, the wind vered to the Southwest, and we weyed anker, and bare cleare of the nesse, and then set our course northeast, and by north, vntill midnight, being then cleare of *Yarmouth* sands. Then we winded North and by West, and North northwest, vntill the first of Iune at noone, then it waxed calme, and continued so vntill Iune. the second day at noone: then the winde came at Northwest, with a tempest, and much raine, and we lay close by, and caped[1] North Northeast, and Northeast, and by North, as the winde shifted, and so continued vntill the third day at noone: then the winde vered Westerly againe, and we went North our right course, and so continued our way vntill the fourth day, at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the winde vered to the Northwest againe, and blewe a fresh gale, and so continued vntill the seuenth day in the morning, we lying with all our shippes close by, and caping to the Northwards: and then the wind vering more Northerly, we were forced to put roomer[2] with the coast of England againe, and fell ouerthwart Newe castel, but went not into the hauen, & so plied vpon the coast the eight day & the ninth.

The tenth day the winde came to the North Northwest, and we [were] forced to beare roomer with *Flamborow* head, where we came to an anker, and there remained vntill the seuenteenth day.[3] Then the winde came faire, and we weyed and set our course North and by East, and so continued the same with a meary winde vntill the 21. at noone, at which time we tooke

[1] The expression "to cape", to keep a course.—Admiral Smyth, *Sailors' Word Book*, p. 159.

[2] "Roomer", old term for going large or from the wind.—Smyth, p. 579.

[3] Accidents and contrary winds had delayed their progress. It was not till the 17th June, thirty-five days after leaving Gravesend, that they could shape a course for Norway.

the Sunne, and had the latitude in 60. degrees. Then we shifted our course, and went North Northeast and Northeast, and by north, vntill the 25. day. Then we discouered certaine Islands, called *Heilick* Islands,[1] lying from vs northeast, being in the latitude of 66. degrees, 40. minutes. Then we went north and by West, because we would not come too nigh the land, and running that course 4. hours, we discouered, and had sight of *Rost* Islands,[2] ioyning to the maine

Heilich Islands in 66. deg. 40. min.

Rost Islands.

[1] Heilich Islands lie off that part of the coast of Finmark, or Norway, marked Heilich lant, or Helge land. This was the country of Other, the earliest traveller and discoverer of the extreme north on record. Almost due north of Heilich Islands is the Rost group of islets, and north-east of these the Lofoden Islands, extending for about 175 miles from S.W. to N.E., between 67° 30′ and 69° 30′ north lat. The following sailing directions in *The Lighting Columne* (p. 63) may serve as a commentary to the narrative:—"From the Island Gryp to the Nomendals Islands the coast is North East eighteen leagues, but from Gryp to the Nomendals Islands the course is North East eighteen leagues, but from Gryp to the Island Rust North and North by East four and sixteen leagues. Betwixt them ly (besides the Nomendals Islands) also the islands Holy land and Traenoch. Traenoch and Rust lye thirteen leagues asunder. From Rust to Wero the coast is North East and by north nine leagues, but to Loffoert north north east three and thirtye leagues. Betwixt Wero and Loffoert lyeth the Maelstrome, where you may sayle through but at still water. By the west point of Loffoert you may runne in and make road under it. And also you may runne through from thence within betwixt the islands and the mayne land, all along unto the North Cape." . . . . This coast is now so well known, that it is almost needless to say that most of the islands have bold, precipitous, and deeply indented coasts; that the interior is elevated and very sterile; and that several of the mountains, though not very lofty, are covered with perpetual snow. The navigation is rendered comparatively easy by the depth of water (300 to 400 fathoms) at the base of the cliffs, and the largest vessel can pass without danger among the rocky islets, though almost filling the narrow space between them.—*The Voyage of the Vega*, Nordenskiöld, i, pp. 46-51; *Sailing Directions for the White Sea*, Imray and Son, p. 2.

[2] Rost Islands are mere precipices of rock, forming a termination, though at some distance, of the Lofoden group. Next to Rost lies Verö, adjoining to which is Moskan. The name "Röst" is the old

land of *Finmarke*. Here the Sunne continueth in sight aboue the horizon, almost 2. moneths together, day and night. Thus continuing our course along the coast of *Norway* and *Finland*, the 27. day we tooke the Sunne, being as far shot as *Lofoote*,[1] and had the latitude in 69. degrees. And the same day in the afternoone appeared ouer our heads a raine bowe like a semicircle, with both ends vpward. Note that there is between the said *Rost* Islands and *Lofoote*, a whirle poole called *Malestrand*,[2] which from halfe ebbe vntil halfe flood, maketh such a terrible noise that it shaketh the ringes in the doores of the inhabitãts houses of the said Islands, ten miles of. Also if there commeth any Whale within the current of the same, they make a pitiful crie. Moreouer, if great trees be caried into it by force of streams, and after with the ebbe be cast out againe, the ends and boughes of them haue bene so beaten, that they

A strange whirle poole.

term for a whirlpool, which is still retained in the Scottish isles, *e.g.*, Sumburg Roost, between the Orkneys and Shetlands.—Metcalfe's *Oxonian in Norway*, i, 237, *seq.*

[1] The largest of the Lofoden islands are Hindö, Andö, and Langö, Ost Vaagen, West Vaagen, and Flagstadö. All of them are rugged and mountainous. The population are a mixed race, partly of Scandinavian, partly of Lappish descent, chiefly dependent on the fishery, which was established previous to the 11th century, and has always attracted a large number of the inhabitants of the mainland.—Chambers's *Encyclopædia*, art. "Lofoden".

[2] The Malström, or Maelström ("grinding stream"), also called Moskenström, is to the south of the island of Moskenæs, the southernmost of the Lofoden group. Like the Saltström (at the entrance to Skjerstad Fjord), it is formed by the tide pouring through a narrow strait four times daily, forming a tremendous, roaring cataract, which it is dangerous to pass except at certain states of the tide. When the wind blows against the current the Malström becomes extremely dangerous, the sea for several miles being so violently agitated that no boat can live in it. The Malström, though more famous, is surpassed by the Saltström, where, during spring tides, the scene is described as a most imposing one.—Metcalfe's *Oxonian in Norway*, i, 237; Bædeker's *Norway and Sweden*, pp. 222, 227.

are like the stalkes of hempe that is bruised. Note, that all the cost of *Finmarke* is high mountaines, and hils, being couered all the yeere with snowe. And hard aboord the shoare of this coast, there is 100. or 150. fadoms of water in depth. Thus proceeding and sayling forward, we fell with an Island called *Zenam*,[1] being in y^e^ latitude of 70. degrees. About this Island we saw many Whales, very monstrous, about our ships, some by estimation of 60. foote long: and being the ingendring time, they roared and cried terribly. From thence we fel with an Island, called *Kettelwicke*.[2] This coast from *Rost* vnto *Lofoote* lieth north and south, and from *Lofoote* to *Zenam*, northeast and southwest, and from *Zenam* to *Kettelwike*, east northeast and west southwest. From the said *Kettelwike* we sailed east and by north 10. leagues, and fell with a land, called *Inger sound*,[3] where we fished, being becalmed, and tooke great plenty of Cods. Thus plying along the coast, we fel with a Cape, called the North Cape,[4] which is the northermost land that we passe in our

Kettelwick island.

Inger sound.

[1] *Zenam* (Senjen), Senienö, and on old charts Sanien, is a large island off the coast, separated by a strait from the mainland. It is situated north-east of the Lofodens, in latitude 69° to 69° 30′, or about half a degree south of its position according to Jenkinson.

[2] "An Island called Kettlewicke." Jenkinson is slightly in error here, there being no *island* of this name off this part of the coast of Norway. The place referred to is *Kjödvig*, at the north end of the island of Sörö. It was first observed by Stephen Burrough in the *Searchthrift*, May 23rd, 1556, when he described himself as being "thwart of the Chappel, which I suppose is called Kedilwicke" (*Hakluyt*, p. 313). The mention of the "chappel" may be an oblique allusion to the adjoining *Kjödvigfeld*, with its projecting promontory, *Tarhalsen*, lying midway between Senienö and Ingö, and which by Jenkinson might easily have been mistaken for an island.—C.

[3] The island of Ingö lies in lat. 71° 5′ N., near Maosö, and forty miles west-south-west of the North Cape. Prof. Nordenskiold says that the influence of warm oceanic currents is so great here that potatoes sometimes yield a good crop; but the inhabitants chiefly depend on fish for their diet.—*Voyage of the Vega*, i, p. 40.

[4] The latitude of the North Cape is exactly what Jenkinson states

voyage to *S. Nicholas*, and is in the latitude of 71. degrees and 10. minutes, and is from *Inger sound* East, and to the Northwards 15. leagues. And being at this North Cape the 2. day of July, we had the sunne at north 4. degrees aboue the Horizon. The 3. day we came to *Wardhouse*,[1] hauing such mists that we could not see the land. Wardhouse.

This *Wardhouse* is a Castle standing in an Island 2. miles from the maine of *Finland*, subiect to the king of *Denmarke*,

it to be, viz., 71° 10′. It was always recognised as the northernmost point of the island of Magerö till the last Norwegian Government surveys found that another point projected about half a mile beyond it into the sea. This, however, is merely a low, narrow ledge of rock, almost washed by the waves, and cannot injure the ancient fame of the grand, frowning cliffs which keep guard over the northernmost land of Europe.—*Voyage from Leith to Lapland*, by W. Hurton, ii, 243, *seq*

The North Cape was so called by Stephen Burrough in *Chancellor's* and *Willoughby's Voyage* in 1553. Before their time it had been known as *Murmansky Noss* (Norman's Cape); and the earliest written account of a voyage round it was drawn up by Alfred, King of England, who derived his information from the writings of Other the Norman, who undertook a voyage from the west coast of Norway to the White Sea, towards the end of the ninth century.—*Hamel*, p. 110; *Hakl.*, 1589, p. 313.

[1] Vardö (rendered on old maps "Wardhouse", "Wardhuys", "Vardöhuus") is prettily situated on an island of that name, separated from the mainland by the Bussesund. The town has two harbours, the larger and deeper being on the north side, protected by a large new breakwater, and the other on the south side. The fortress, situated to the west of the town, is the northernmost in Europe. It was once a place of strength, and enabled Norway to retain possession of Finmarken. Now its defences are dilapidated, and the garrison, numbering sixteen men, is only maintained for the purpose of firing salutes on state occasions. The town, which in 1600 was merely a group of miserable fishing huts, now consists of neat, well-built houses, covered with turf, with a handsome new church built of timber. In the vicinity are numerous *Hjelder* for drying fish. For particulars of the navigation of this part of the coast, see *The Sea Mirrour*, p. 67; and for engravings showing Vardö as it was in the sixteenth century and as it is now, see *Voyage of the Vega*, vol. i, p. 64. —Bædeker's *Norway and Sweden*, p. 248; Rae's *White Sea Peninsula*, p. 7.

and the Eastermost land that he hath. There are 2. other Islands neere adioyning vnto that, whereon the Castle of *Wardhouse* standeth.

The inhabitants of those 3. Islands liue onely by fishing, & make much stockefish, which they dry with frost: their most feeding is fish; bread and drinke they haue none, but such as is brought them from other places. They haue small store of cattell, which are also fed with fish.[1] From *Wardhouse* we sailed south southeast ten leagues, and fell with a Cape of land called *Kegor*,[2] ye northermost part of the land

Cattell fed with fish.

[1] The practice of feeding cattle on fish is very general in northern countries at the present day. In Iceland, dried cods' heads are given to cows and ponies. At Soroka, and other villages on the White Sea, smoked herrings answer the same purpose.—Rae's *White Sea Peninsula*, p. 120.

[2] Kegor, or Kegur, is Cape Nemétsky (*i.e.*, German) of modern maps. It lies about thirty miles S.E. from Vardö, at the north end of Ribatchi (Fishers') peninsula. "From Wardhouse to the poynt of Kegor", says *The Sea Mirrour*, "the course is south east and south east and by south ten leagues. Betwixt them both is a great baye, wherein are divers sounds and rivers, amongst other the river Petsing, which is a great, faire and large River where men may goe in with great shipps, a good ways within the river is a good road, there is taken and laden much salmon, but there fall no other speciall wares." Between Vardö and Ribatchi peninsula the easterly winds which prevail in summer blow with as much regularity as almost to deserve the name of trade winds.

"Kegor is a fayre haven lying at the north end of the Fishers Island, a little without the poynt. There lye two or three rocks at the north poynt of the haven, and also a suncken rock in the middest of the havens mouth; you leave the suncken Rock with the other Rocks on the starboard side of you, and runne in by the south shoare, and edge them behind the foresayd rocks, and anchor there in seven or eight fathom, the havens mouth lyeth in southwest, it is there so good lying as in any haven thereabouts on the coast . . . . ."

"The Danes call this haven Easter haven, there was wont to be the staple of Fish where every one must come to buye, therefore the Island is yet called, whereon Kegor lyeth, the Fishers Island.

"It is indeed no island but very neare; it is fast to the maine land with such a very small neck that the Russes, which come from Kilduyn or the river of Kool, and are bound to the river Pitsing, doe

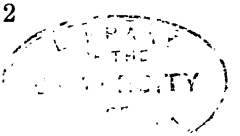
of *Lappia*. And betweene *Wardhouse* & the said Cape is a great Bay, called *Dommeshaff*,[1] in the south part whereof is a Monasterie of Monkes of the *Russes* religion, called *Pechinchow*.[2] Thus proceeding forward and sayling along the coast of the saide lande of *Lappia*, winding Southeast, the fourth day through great mists and darkenes we lost the companie of the other three ships, and met not with them againe, vntill the 7. day, when we fell with a Cape or headland called

The Monasterie of Pechinchow.

goe alongst within this land and haule their boates over that small neck, for not to goe about a seaboard."—*The Sea Mirrour*, p. 67; Imray's *Sailing Directions*, p. 24.

[1] *Dommeshaff* (Varanger fiord). So named from the *Domen* (dome-shaped) hill, S.E. of Vardö. Stephen Burrough, in his search for Chancellor's missing ships, mentions the bay (*Hakl.*, p. 330), and it is marked on Wm. Burrough's hitherto unknown MS. map, *circa* 1558 (Old Roy. Lib., 18, D., iii), as well as on that of Jenkinson. The height (530 ft.) of this dome-shaped hill would make it a conspicuous landmark to navigators, and account for its having lent its name to the bay. (*Cf.* Norwegian Government Chart; Bædeker's *Norway and Sweden*, p. 249.)—C.

[2] *Pechinchow*. Trifan, a monk of Novgorod, founded the cloister of *Pechenga* in 1533, and dedicated it to the Holy Trinity. He undertook the conversion of the Lapps, and raised partly with his own hands the neighbouring shrine of Boris—Gleb. He went to Mosco, and obtained from Ivan III a grant of lands and other privileges for his sanctuary. Pilgrims, attracted by his zeal and reputation, came from far and near to worship at the shrine erected in these northern solitudes. Their offerings, and the revenues derived from fisheries and trade, soon enriched the monastery; but the Swedes regarded with jealousy the Russian establishment close to their border, and in 1590 attacked and destroyed the place, putting its inmates to the sword. About this time the monastery of Solovetsky in the White Sea (founded in 1429) was strengthened, and enclosed within thick stone walls, to serve as a refuge to Russians on these coasts. Solovetsky, the island monastery, is large and prosperous to this day, while Pechenga, on the mainland, only survives in name. *Pechinchow* is the genitive case of *Pechenegi*, the name of a warlike people inhabiting southern Russia. It is difficult to account for their name being carried so far north as to have found a resting-place on the shores of the White Sea. A town in the Government of Kharkof bears the same name.—*Karamsin*, i, 240, ii, 29; Semeonof, arts. "Pechenegi", "Solovetsk"; Rae's *White Sea Peninsula*, pp. 16-18, and 172. *Herberstein* (Hakl. Soc.), ii, p. 49.



Suetinose,[1] which is the entring into the Bay of *S. Nicholas*. At this Cape lieth a great stone, to the which the barkes that passed thereby, were wont to make offrings of butter, meale, and other victuals, thinking that vnlesse they did so, their barkes or vessels shoulde there perish, as it hath bene oftentimes seene: and there it is very darke and mistie. Note that the 6. day we passed by the place where *Sir Hugh Willoughbie*, with all his companie, perished, which is called *Arzina reca*, that is to say, the riuer *Arzina*.[2] The land of *Lappia* is an high land,[3] hauing snow lying on it commonly all the yeere. The people of the Countrey are halfe Gentiles:[4] they liue in the summer time neere the sea side, and

Arzina reca, the river where Sir Hugh Willoughby was frozen.

[1] Sviatoi Noss, *i.e.*, Holy Promontory, jingled by Dutch and English mariners into "Swete Nose", forms the western entrance into the White Sea, while Cape Kanin, the extreme northern point of Kanin peninsula, faces it on the east.

[2] The *Arzina*, or Varzina, debouches in Nokuyef Bay, lat. 68° 20′ and long. 38° 30′ E. of Greenwich. Here Sir Hugh Willoughby, with the crews of his two ships, perished from cold in 1553-4, and here their bodies were discovered by Russian fishermen.—*England and Russia*, Hamel, p. 86; *Voyage of the Vega*, i, 63.

[3] Mr. Edward Rae, who lately sailed along the coast of Lapland, thus describes it: "Dull volcanic rocks, red and rounded; abrupt grey cliffs, split and fissured, with misty snow crowning them, rose hundreds of feet from the dark sea."—*White Sea Peninsula*, p. 84.

[4] The Lapps—for these are the people referred to in the text—are a Finnish race inhabiting the district of Kem (formerly Kola), the so-called peninsula of Lapland, besides northern parts of Finland, Norway, and Sweden. They appear to have been known as "Suomi", among themselves, and in the twelfth century the name Lapp was unknown. Castren derives it from their word "Loap" or "Loop", signifying "end", as applied to the extreme northern position of their country; Varelius conjectures that it was first applied as a term of derision by those Finns who had adopted a more or less settled form of life, to kindred tribes who retained their primitive habits. The Lapps were formerly much more widely distributed. According to Mathesius, at the Reformation there were Lapps in Ostrobothnia, and throughout the wooded districts of Finland wherever settlements and agriculture had not penetrated. Russian annalists of the sixteenth century mention Lapps not only on the shores of the Gulf of

vse to take fishe, of the which they make bread; and in the winter they remoone vp into the Countrey into the woods, where they vse hunting, and kill Deere, Beares, Woolues, Foxes and other beasts, with whose flesh they be nourished, and with their skinnes apparelled in such strange fashion, that there is nothing seene of them bare but their eies. They haue none other habitation, but onely in tents, remouing from place to place, according to the season of the yeere. They know no arte nor facultie, but onely shooting,

The Lappians couered all sauing their eyes.

Kandalaks and Onega Bay, but also Christianised and heathen Lapps (the "half Gentiles" of our text) on the river Thuya, falling into Lake Onega, north of Petrozavodsk, and scattered colonies of them appear to have then lived in the district of Novgorod. Even in the seventeenth century the Lapps were much further south than they are at present, and occupied the shores of Bothnia and the southern part of the Government of Uleaborg. Their gradual disappearance is attributable partly to their having adopted agricultural pursuits and a settled form of life, partly to their intermixture with Finns. Physically, the Lapps are small in stature, with low forehead, prominent cheekbones, small eyes, dark hair, but straight nose. Their language resembles the Finnish, differing from it, however, as much as Danish does from Swedish. The Russian Lapps support themselves almost entirely by fishing, living in summer scattered along the shores of lakes, rivers, and sea-coasts, in wooden huts, and returning in autumn to their permanent homes, which are fashioned much after the Russian style. Ever since the Lapps adopted settled habits and the Russo-Greek faith, they began to discontinue hunting reindeer, which obliged them formerly, as it does the Samoyedes now, to lead a semi-nomadic life, and only kept a few of these animals in a domesticated state. In this way *hill* Lapps became *water* Lapps, and in course of time took to trade. Their dress in summer closely resembles that of the Russians; in winter they wear coats, trousers, and caps of reindeer skin, and by these may be distinguished from Finns. The Lapps are singularly quiet and peaceful in character. To this day sorcery enters into their religious practices, but they are rapidly losing their ethnographical peculiarities, and becoming more and more Russian. Mr. Rae, who was lately among them, found them very different from those of Norway, and with but little trace of Mongolian type in their features, leading him to take them for a distinct race. — Semeonof, art. "Lopari"; *White Sea Peninsula*, p. 108.

which they exercise daily, as well men as women, and kill such beasts as serue them for their foode. Thus proceeding along the coast from *Suetinoze* aforesaid, the 9. day of Iuly wee came to Cape Grace, being in the latitude of 66. degrees and 45. minutes, and is at the entring in of the Bay of *S. Nicholas.* Aboord this land there is 20. or 30. fadoms water and sundry grounds good to anker in. The current at this Cape runneth Southwest and Northeast. From this Cape we proceeded along, vntill we came to Crosse Island,[1] which is seuen leagues from the said Cape Southwest: and from this Island wee set ouer to the other side of the Baye, and went South southwest, and fell with an head land called Foxenose,[2] which is from the said Island 25. leagues. The entring of this Bay from Crosse Island to the neerest land on the other side is seuen leagues ouer. From Foxenose proceeding forward the twelfth day of the said moneth of Iulie, all our foure ships arriued in safetie at the roade of Saint Nicholas in the land of Russia, where we ancored and had sayled from London vnto the sayde roade seuen hundred and fifty leagues.[3] The Russian ambassadour and his company with great ioy gotte to shore, and our shippes here forthwith discharged themselues: and being laden againe and hauing a faire winde, departed towarde England the first of August. The third of the sayde moneth I with other of my companie

The current at Cape Grace.

The entring of the Bay of S. Nicholas is seuen leagues broad at the least.

August.

[1] Sosnovetz, or Fir Island, better known to English sailors as Cross Island, from the numerous crosses once standing on it, but which have been ruthlessly cut down for fuel by ships' crews.—*Admiralty Directions*, p. 19.

[2] Cape Kerets, commonly known to English sailors as Blue Nose, at the entrance to the Gulf of Archangel.—*Admiralty Directions*, p. 20.

[3] The entrance to the Northern Dwina was in early times by Nicholas Channel, the westernmost of the four principal arms of its estuary. Here stood the monastery of St. Nicholas, two miles and a half from the sea-coast, mentioned by Thomas Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador. Ships now enter by the Beriozofsky (birch-tree) Channel, and anchor off the Solombal Islands.—*Hakl.*, 1589, p. 400.

came vnto the citie of *Colmogro,*[1] being an hundred verstes from the Bay of Saint Nicholas, and in the latitude of 64. degrees 25. minutes. I tarried at the sayd *Colmogro* vntill the fifteenth day, and then I departed in a little boate vp the great riuer of *Dwina,* which runneth very swiftly, and the selfe same day passed by the mouth of a riuer called *Pinego,* leauing it on our left hand fifteene verstes from *Colmogro.* On both sides of the mouth of this riuer *Pinego*[2] is high land, great

Pinego river.

[1] Kholmogori, 47 miles S.E. of Archangel on the Mosco road, is situated on an island formed by two arms of the Northern Dwina. Kholmogori is as ancient as Novgorod itself, and, according to some, was the capital of Biarmia (Permia). Probably before the Novgorodians came hither there stood the Finnish town of "Holmgard" or "Holmgavol", mentioned in Scandinavian sagas, a name said to be derived from two Scandinavian words, "holmo" or "kolmo", island, and "gard", government. Kholmogori first appears in Russian MSS. in a *gramota,* or letter addressed by Grand Duke Johan Johannovitch (1355-9) to the *posadnick* (governor) and boyards of the Dwina. Between 1557 and 1587 it was the residence of a mayor, who exercised judicial functions over the whole province. Kholmogori was at this period a flourishing place, and it was then that Englishmen settled here and built several handsome houses. Richard Gray established a rope-walk here in 1555, and in 1557 English workmen were sent from London to superintend it. About the same time English merchants founded their trading factory at Kholmogori, and built spacious warehouses to contain their merchandise, while native traders occupied the *gostinni dvor.* Randolph writes in 1568, "Colmogoro is a great towne builded all of wood." Kholmogori had several able and energetic governors, among whom were Zvenigorodsky, Viazemsky, Lashkarof, and others. In 1613 it successfully withstood an invasion of Poles and Lithuanians; and in 1682 was raised to a bishopric, its first bishop, Athanasius, adorning it with stone churches. In 1700 the Voievode transferred his residence to Archangel (then known as New Kholmogori), and the military following him, Kholmogori soon declined. It is now but little better than a poor village, though in Lepekhin's time (1770) it still possessed a cathedral; and Dr. Shaw, in his *Gazetteer of the World,* speaks of its church, docks, and school of navigation.—Vsévolojsky and Semeonof, arts. "Kholmogori".

[2] The Pinega, a right tributary of the Dwina, rises in the district of Solvichegodsk, where it is formed by the confluence of two small rivers, *Bielaia* (White), and *Chernaia* (Black). It has a course of about 300 miles, with a breadth of 200 to 500 yards, and a depth

rockes of Alabastre, great woods and Pyneaple trees lying along within the ground, which by report haue lyen there since Noes flood. And thus proceeding forward the nineteenth day in the morning, I came into a town called *Yemps*,[1] an hundred verstes from *Colmogro*. All this way along they make much tarre, pitch and ashes of Aspen trees. From thence I came to a place called *Vstiug*,[2] an ancient citie, the last day of August. At this citie meete two riuers: the one called *Iug* and the other *Sucana*, both which fall into the aforesaid riuer of *Dwina*. The riuer of *Iug* hath his spring in the land of the Tartars called *Cheremizzi*,[3] ioyning to the

The towne of Yemps.

Vstiug.

varying from three to six and even 12 feet. The banks are steep in places, particularly about ten miles above the town of Pinega, and are composed of red clay, sandstone, gypsum, and black limestone. Jenkinson was therefore right in speaking of "great rocks of alabaster", for this mineral is a variety of gypsum. The "pine-apple trees" were probably stranded logs of fir or larch, for which this river is particularly noted, though the allusion is evidently to fossilised wood. Fossils are certainly found in the mountain limestone and Permian strata of Pinega.—Semeonof, art. "Pinega."

[1] On Jenkinson's map "Yemsa", on Gerard's (dated 1613, one of the oldest of Russia) "Jemse", and on Stieler's *Hand Atlas* (51) "Jemza", occur as the name of a left affluent of the Dwina. Stieler also has "Jemezkoje", at the mouth of the Jemza, doubtless the place referred to by Jenkinson.

[2] Ustiug (*i.e.*, mouth of Yug), at the confluence of the Yug and the Suhona, was known as Veliki (Great) Ustiug. This was an important place of trade, and particularly for the shipment of corn, flax, bristles, tallow, and hides.

[3] The Cheremissi (Meri) are a Tartar-Finnish tribe, occupying parts of the Governments of Kazan and Viatka. They were settled on the Volga in very early times, and are mentioned by the Russian annalists as inhabiting the districts next below the Mordva, an allied race, both having been included in the country of the Bolghars. In Jenkinson's time their settlements reached to Viatka, about due east of the sources of the Yug, and between this river and Permia, which extended in those days to both banks of the Kama. The Cheremissi were subjected by the Novgorodians in the fourteenth century, and soon afterwards accepted Christianity. In 1870 they numbered 210,000.—Schnitzler, *Statistique de la Russie*, pp. 65, 200; *Drevniye goroda*, Shpelefsky, p. 133; *Voienno Statist. Sbornik*, 1871, p. 97.

countrey of *Permia:* and *Succana* hath his head from a lake not farre from the citie of *Vologhda.* Thus departing from *Vstiug,* & passing vp the riuer *Succana,* we came to a towne called *Totma.*[1] About this place the water is very shallow, and stonie, & troublesome for Barkes and boats of that countrey, which they cal *Nassades* and *Dosneckes,*[2] to passe that way: wherein marchandise are transported from the aforesayd *Colmogro* to the citie of *Vologhda.* These vessels, called *Nassades,*[3] are very long builded, broade made, and close aboue, flatte bottomed, and draw not aboue foure foote water, and will carrie two hundred tunnes: they haue none yron appertaining to them but all of timber, and when the winde serueth, they are made to sayle. Otherwise they haue many men, some to hale and drawe by the neckes with long small ropes made fast to the saide boates, and some set

The description of their Nassades.

[1] Totma ranked next to Veliki Ustiug as a place of trade. It stood on the left bank of the Suhona, about half-way between Lake Kubensky and the fork of the Yug and Suhona rivers. The Suhona, on leaving Lake Kubensky, formed a loop on the south-east, the ends of which were almost united. Across the narrow isthmus, separating the two ends of this bend, Count Gleb Belosersky cut a canal in 1339, in order to shorten the navigation. By this means, and by more recent works, uninterrupted communication was opened between the White Sea, the Baltic, and the Caspian. This canal system, however, by checking the outflow from Lake Kubensky, tended to impair the navigability of the Suhona. Hence we find our author observing on its shallowness and stony bottom. The channel is, in fact, much obstructed below the town of Totma by ridges of hard clay and limestone.—Semeonof, art. "Suhona."

[2] "Dosneckes", for *doschanniki* (derived from *doska*, board or plank), were flat-bottomed river craft with mast and deck.

[3] "Nassades", from the Russian word *nasadit*, to fix or place upon, were vessels with gunwales used in river navigation. The word is now obsolete, though preserved in popular songs and traditions. Jenkinson's description of the mode of propelling these unwieldy craft might apply to that still practised on the Upper Volga, or at all events in use twenty years ago—the clumsy mast and sail, only set with the wind right behind; the numerous crew harnessed to the tow-rope; the long poles—are all characteristic of river navigation in Russia about the time steam power was beginning to be introduced.—Dahl's *Dict.*

with long poles. There are many of these Barks vpon the riuer of *Dwina:* And the most part of them belongeth vnto the citie of *Vologhda*: for there dwell many marchants, and they occupie the said boates with carying of salt from the sea side into the sayde *Vologhda.* The twentieth of September I came vnto *Vologhda,*[1] which is a great citie, and the

[1] Jenkinson was, therefore, twenty-six days in going from Kholmogori to Vologhda. Randolph made the same journey in thirty days. He was towed up stream, this being the only mode of progress. Vologhda is one of the oldest of Russian towns, having been founded in the thirteenth century by the Novgorodians; though, according to another account, St. Gerasim, who went thither from Kief, found it in existence in 1147. In its earliest days Vologhda was a dependency of Novgorod; it is mentioned in a *gramota*, or letter addressed by the Novgorodians to Prince Yaroslaf in 1264; and it was plundered in 1273 by Sviatoslaf, Prince of Tver, in league with the Tartars, when its inhabitants were carried away into captivity; but in the fourteenth century Vologhda had again become flourishing and populous. From that time it changed its allegiance, repeatedly now paying tribute to the princes of Novgorod, now to those of Mosco, and it was finally united with the principality of Mosco by Vassili-Vassilievitch the Blind. Vassili, whose dukedom had been usurped by his cousin Shemiaka, lived at Vologhda from October 1446 to February 1447, when, finding its inhabitants ready to espouse his cause, he with their assistance retook Mosco. Ivan III visited Vologhda in 1463; and Ivan IV, with whose reign we are chiefly concerned, intended making it his principal residence, visiting it repeatedly, and on the last occasion remaining over two years superintending the fortifications he had built round the castle. These are referred to by Thomas Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador. It was to Volgohda that Ivan fled when Mosco was burnt by the Krim Tartars; and here took place that interview between the enraged Czar and Devlet Ghirei's ambassadors, of which Horsey left a curious account. Joseph Nepea, the first Russian envoy to England in 1556 (see *ante*, p. 11), was a native of Vologhda, and Horsey resided here some weeks on his way home. Upon the opening of trade with England, Vologhda became a depot for English merchandise conveyed hither up the Dwina, Suhona, and Vologhda rivers. Land was given to the English merchants to build a house and stores, and for many years one of their factors continually resided here. Vologhda has lost the commanding place it held among Russian towns, much of the White Sea trade now passing to the Baltic.—*Hakl.*, 1589, p. 400; Semeonof, art. "Vologhda"; *Russia*, by Dr. Giles Fletcher, Hakl. Soc., 1856, pp. 166-68.

riuer passeth through the middest of the same. The houses are builded with wood of Firre trees, ioyned one with another, and round without: the houses are foure square without any yron or stone worke, couered with birch Barkes and wood ouer the same: their Churches are all of wood, two for euery parish, one to be heated for Winter and the other for Sommer.[1]

On the toppes of their houses they laye much earth, for feare of burning: for they are sore plagued with fire. This *Vologhda* is in 59. degrees, 11. minutes,[2] and is from *Colmogro* 1000. verstes.

All the way I neuer came in house, but lodged in the wildernesse, by the riuers side, and carried prouision for the way. And he that will trauell those waies, must carrye with him an hatchet, a tinder boxe, and a kettle, to make fire and

Good Counsel for trauellers.

[1] Log-houses are constructed very much in the same way at the present day in Russia, and they are far more comfortable and warmer than those built of brick. The following is the *modus operandi* of the Russian builder. Having selected his logs, he planes them on the upper and under side, in order that they may lie close one above the other; the ends are then dovetailed together, the interstices being filled in with moss, or better still, with tow, because it does not harbour insects. Openings are cut for doors and windows, and a double roof of boards, grooved to carry off rain, completes the structure. All this is done with the axe, which, in the hands of a skilful carpenter, takes the place of plane, saw, chisel, and hammer. High roofs are now invariably in use; in Jenkinson's time they appear to have been flat and covered with earth, doubtless as a preventive against fire, and perhaps also for warmth. Brick and stone are now largely used in building in Russia, a law having been passed many years ago that when a wooden house had been burnt down in a town it could only be rebuilt in brick or stone. Villages, however, are entirely made of wood, and the cold and hot churches for winter and summer use are to this day general in most of the northern districts. Birch bark is seldom used now for covering wooden houses, a sheathing of boards being more common; but the rounded log-houses, uncovered by any external coat, are the most familiar sights of all.

[2] The latitude of Vologhda is 58° 15′. Jenkinson places it nearly a degree too far north; its distance from Kholmogori is about 700 miles.

seethe meate, when he hath it: for there is small succour in those parts, vnlesse it be in townes.[1]

The first day of December, I departed from *Vologhda* in poste in a sled, as the maner is in Winter.[2] And the way to Moscua is as followeth. From *Vologhda* to *Commelski* 27. verstes,[3] so to *Olmor* 25. verstes,[4] so to *Teloytske* 20 verstes,[5] so to *Vre* 30. verstes,[6] so to *Voshansko* 30. verstes,[7] then to *Yeraslaue* 30. verstes,[8] which standeth vpon the

[1] Post travelling in Russia has made considerable progress since the time of Jenkinson. On all the chief highways there are good post-houses, and if provisions are not plentiful, there is the never-failing samovar to fall back upon, with the warming cup of tea, luxuries unknown in our traveller's time. But in the more remote parts of the country it is still necessary to take provisions for the road, and in view of a possible breakdown, an axe or hatchet and a rope are indispensable.

[2] The Russian ambassador, Nepea, Dr. Standish, Mr. Grey, and other Englishmen preceded Jenkinson to Mosco. Starting from Kholmogori the 29th July, they reached Vologhda the 27th August, and Mosco the 12th September. Their mode of conveyance from Vologhda to Mosco with their merchandise was in "telegos", or open carts; hence they were fourteen days on the road, while Jenkinson, who waited in Vologhda till winter, travelled in a post-sledge, and was only six days in reaching the capital.—*Hakl.*, 1589, p. 338.

[3] *Commelski*, "Nicola Comoloscoi" of Isaac Massa's *Novissima Russiæ Tabula*, 1640; probably Nikolskoi, near the river Komela. See French map of Russia, 1:500,000.—C.

[4] *Olmor*, evidently a misprint for Obnor, or rather St. Obnorski jam, an old post-station; Obnorski-Pavlof monastery lies three miles E. of the highroad.—C.

[5] *Teloytske*, probably Teliatschia, or Boda Teliatschia of French map.—C.

[6] *Ure*, probably *Der*, short for *Derevnia*, village.

[7] *Voshansko*, probably Vochenskoi of French map.—C.

[8] *Yeraslaue* (Yaroslaf), founded by Yaroslaf the Great in the eleventh century, has always been a great *entrepôt* for trade. In early days, merchandise destined for Persia was landed here, and vessels were built at "*Ustwicki Zelezma*", about 100 miles distant, to convey it down the Volga. An old writer (Dr. Giles Fletcher) says of it, that its situation on the high bank of the famous Volga was very fair and stately to behold. He adds: "In this Towne . . . dwelt the *Russe* King *Vlademir*, surnamed *Iaruslave*, that married the daughter of

great riuer *Volga*, so to *Rostoue*, 50. verstes,[1] then to *Rogarin* 30. verstes,[2] so to *Peraslaue* 10. verstes, which is a great towne, standing hard by a faire lake.[3] From thence to

Harald, King of *England*." Yaroslaf was a favourite resort of foreign merchants, its flax trade and manufacturing industry giving it a leading place among Russian towns. Besides these advantages, Yaroslaf of our day may boast of its fine quay along the Volga, and of its many public buildings and institutions for learning.—*History of Trauayle* ... a collection by R. Eden, edited by R. Willis, 1577, p. 321; *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, pt. iii, p. 419.

[1] *Rostoue* (Rostof), 36 miles S.S.W. of Yaroslaf, on N. shore of Lake Nero, has a large archbishop's palace, several monasteries, and 33 churches. Rostof is mentioned by Nestor as having been included by Rurik in the partition on the death of his brothers (862). It paid tribute to Kief till the death of St. Vladimir. It then lent its name to a large principality, comprising Yaroslaf and parts of the Governments of Vladimir (Suzdal), Novgorod (Bielozero), and Vologhda. In this way Rostof was under independent princes to the beginning of the thirteenth century. During this time it was made an episcopal see (transferred in 1786 to Yaroslaf), its early prelates distinguishing themselves by their zeal in converting to Christianity the heathen tribes. Rostof has suffered many times from fire and sword, yet it is considered one of the best district towns of Russia.

[2] *Rogarin* (Rogasino) occurs on Stieler's *Hand Atlas* (51), one stage north of Pereyaslaf, its right position according to the text.

[3] *Peraslaue* (Pereyaslaf), called *Zalessky* (*za*, beyond; *less*, forest), from the dense forests surrounding it, stands on both banks of the Trubej, near Lake Pleschéiwo, or Pereyaslaf, famed for its herring fishery. "Ce lac", says Vsevolojsky, "est encore remarquable en ce que Pierre Ier y jeta les fondements de la marine Russe en y faisant construire en 1691 pour son instruction une frégate et quelques autres batiments, sur lesquels il s'exerçoit aux manœuvres.....la frégate n'existe plus, mais les bateaux y sont encore soigneusement conservés." (See also Schuyler's *Peter the Great*, vol. i, p. 271.) Pereyaslaf played a not unimportant part in history. In 1237, and again in 1252, it was sacked by Tartars; in 1372, Lithuanians, led by Michail of Tver, besieged it, but were driven away with heavy losses. In 1409 and 1415, Yedigher and his Tartars laid it waste. In 1240, Alexander Nefsky, having quarrelled with the Novgorodians, retired to Pereyaslaf, and his son Dmitry afterwards lived there. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Pereyaslaf became an appanage of Mosco, and its inhabitants were obliged to supply the court with fish.—Semeonof, art. "Pereyaslaf".

Dowbnay 30. verstes,[1] so to *Godoroke* 30. verstes,[2] so to *Owchay* 30. verstes,[3] and last to the Musco 25. verstes, where I ar-
December. riued the sixt day of December.

There are 14. postes called *Yannes*[4] betweene *Vologhda* and *Musco*, which are accompted 500. verstes asunder.

The 10. day of December, I was sent for to the Emperors Castle by the sayd Emperour, and deliuered my letters vnto the Secretarie,[5] who talked with me of diuers matters, by the commandement of the Emperour. And after that my letters were translated, I was answered that I was welcome, and that the Emperour would giue me that I desired.

[1] Dubna (Dowbnay) is marked "Doobna" on the French map 1:424000; a river of the same name divides the Governments of Vladimir and Mosco.

[2] *Godoroke* (Gorodok) also finds place on the French map, and, doubtless, marks the site of an old fort.

[3] *Owchay*, evidently the Outscha River (near Pushkino) of French map, exactly 25 versts from Mosco.—C.

[4] The Tartar word *Yam* ("Yanne" of the text) has been entirely superseded by the Western European *potcht* (*poshta*, post), though preserved in *yamstchik*, or postal driver. The Russian posting system was entirely modelled after that of the Tartars, though the words have been modernised, or, if we may so term it, *Europeanised*. An account of the *Yams*, as prevailing in China in the Middle Ages, will be found in Colonel Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, from the narratives of Friar Odoric and Shah Rukh's ambassadors. A comparison of these with experiences of Russian posting shows how close a resemblance there is; even the mode of carrying express despatches by *estafette* completely answers to the *kidifu* of the Tartars, except that instead of foot-runners, fleet horses are kept at every station, whose riders, when carrying important despatches, never draw the rein from one end to the other of the stage, averaging about twelve to fifteen miles. Railways and telegraphs are, of course, revolutionising communications, but the old style of travel is being introduced into Central Asia, where the locomotive has not yet had time to penetrate. The etymology of the word "yam" is from the Chinese *yi-ma*, *i.e.*, horse-post.—*Cathay and the Way Thither*, ccii, 137-39.

[5] Jenkinson does not say who this secretary was, but Killingworth informs us that his name was Evan Mecallawicke Weskawate (Ivan Michailovitch Viscovatof), who was very friendly to the English.—*Hakl.*, p. 301.

The 25. day, being the day of the natiuitie, I came into the Emperours presence, and kissed his hand, who sate aloft in a goodly chaire of estate, hauing on his heade a crowne most richly decked, and a staffe of golde in his hand, all apparelled with golde, and garnished with precious stones.

There sate distant from him about two yardes his brother,[1] and next vnto him a boye of twelue yeeres of age, who was inheritor to y^e^ Emperor of *Casan*,[2] conquered by this Emperor 8. yeeres past. Then sate his nobilitie round about him, richly apparelled with golde and stone. And after I had done obeisance to the Emperour, he with his owne mouth calling me by my name, bade me to dinner, and so I departed to my lodging till dinner time, which was at sixe of the clocke, by candle light.

The Emperour dined in a faire great Hall,[3] in the middest whereof was a pillar foure square, very artificially made,

[1] This probably was Yuri, younger brother of Ivan, in whose charge he left the affairs of his kingdom when he was absent.

[2] The Tartar boy prince was Utamit, or Utamish Ghurei, son of Safa Ghirei and the beautiful Nogai princess, Siyunbeka. Utamit was taken with his mother at Kazan in 1551, and brought to Mosco, where he was baptised in 1552, under the name of Dmitri. He had been placed on the throne of Kazan when only two years of age, on the death of his father in 1549. This would make him ten years of age, not twelve, as in the text. Howorth states, on what authority I know not, that this young prince died at Mosco on the 11th June 1556. If this be correct, the young prince seen by our traveller in December that year could not have been Utamish.—*Karamsin*, viii, 99, 102, 212, 221, 226 ; Howorth's *Hist. of the Mongols*, pt. II, div. i, p. 409.

[3] This hall was the celebrated *Granovitaya palata*, where ambassadors and foreigners of distinction were received in audience, and entertained at great feasts. The old building, erected in the fifteenth century by Ivan III, and designed by two Italian architects, Marco Ruffo and Petro Antonio, suffered several times from fires. In 1686 it was rebuilt by Prince Galitsin, and after the great fire of 1737 was restored by the Empress Elizabeth. This hall was also the place of assemblage for the *sobòri*, or gatherings of notables, to discuss affairs of state and religion.—Semeonof, art. "Mosco"; *Karamsin*, vol. viii, *passim*.

about which were diuers tables set, and at the vppermost part of the Hall sate the Emperour himselfe, & at his table sate his brother, his Vncles sonne, the Metropolitaine, the young Emperour of *Casan*, and diuers of his noble men, all of one side. There were diuers Ambassadors & other strangers, as wel Christians as Heathens, diuersly apparelled, to the number of 600. men, which dined in the said hall, besides 2000. Tartars, men of war, which were newly come to render themselues to the Emperour, & were appointed to serue him in his warres against the *Lyfflanders*, but they dined in other hals. I was set at a litle table, hauing no stranger with me, directly before the Emperors face. Being thus set and placed, the Emperour sent me diuers bowles of wine and meade & many dishes of meat from his own hand, which were brought me by a Duke, and my table serued all in golde and siluer, and so likewise on other tables there were set boles of gold, set with stone, worth by estimation 400. pounds sterling one cup, besides the plate which serued the tables.

There was also a Cupboord of plate, most sumptuous and rich, which was not vsed, among the which was a peece of golde of two yardes long, wrought in the toppe with Towers and Dragons heades; also diuers barrels of golde and siluer,[1] with Castles on the bungs, richly and artificially made. The Emperour and all the Hall throughout was serued with Dukes, and when dinner was ended, the Emperour called mee by name, & gaue mee drinke with his own hande, & so I departed to my lodging.

[1] This display of gold and silver vessels, which made so great an impression on our traveller, showed the extent of Russia's commerce in those days. Through the Tartars she had dealings with the Levant, and much of the wealth of the Indies found its way to the court of Mosco. But little of this sumptuous plate came from the lately sacked Kazan, for, on the capture of this fortress in 1551, Ivan abandoned the booty to his army, reserving to himself only the crown and sceptre of the Czars, and the national standard and cannons, saying the only riches he cared for were "*peace with honour*" for Russia. — *Karamsin*, viii, 192.

Note, that when the Emperour drinketh, all the companie stande vp, and at euery time he drinketh or tasteth of a dish of meate he blesseth himselfe. Many other things I saw that day, not here noted.

The 4. of Ianuarie, which was Twelftide with them, the Emperour, with his brother and all his nobles, all most richly apparelled with gold, pearles, pretious stones, and costly furres, with a crowne vpon his head, of the *Tartarian* fashion, went to the Church in procession, with the Metropolitan, and diuers bishops and priests. That day I was before the Emperour again in *Russe* apparel, and the Emperour asked if that were not I, and his Chancelor answered yea. Then he bad me to dinner: then came he out of the Church, and went with the procession vpon the riuer, being all frozen, and there standing bare headed, with all his Nobles, there was a hole made in the ice, and the Metropolitan hallowed the water with great solemnitie, and seruice, and did cast of the said water vpon the Emperours sonne and the Nobilitie. That done, the people with great thronging filled pots of the said water, to carry home to their houses, and diuers children were throwen in, and sicke people, and plucked out quickly againe, and diuers *Tartars* christened: all which the Emperour beheld. Also there were brought the Emperours best horses, to drinke at the said hallowed water.[1] All this being ended, he returned

[1] This ceremony, since transferred to St. Petersburg, is perpetuated on the banks of the Neva, on the 6th, not the 4th, of January. A scaffolding is erected opposite the Winter Palace, and a wooden temple built on the ice. The Emperor, attended by the Metropolitan, clergy, and high officers of State, then proceeds to a raised dais prepared for him, and stands with head uncovered, while the priests chaunt a service standing round an open hole cut in the ice, and taking the blessed water, sprinkle it over those present, and afterwards among the people. These eagerly press forward to receive some of the hallowed drops, believing in their extraordinary virtue. Immersion of children and full-grown persons is now rare, though an occasional fanatic jumps into the icy water, and is immediately pulled out: and the custom of bringing the Emperor's best horses to drink is quite obsolete.

to his pallace againe, and went to dinner by candle light, and sate in a woodden house, very fairely gilt. There dined in the place, aboue 300. strangers, and I sate alone, as I did before, directly before the Emperour, and had my meat, bread, and drinke sent me from the Emperour.

The citie of *Musko*[1] is great, the houses for the most part

[1] Jenkinson's description of Mosco is somewhat meagre, but he was there only a short time, and was intent on prosecuting his journey further eastwards. Herberstein, who was at Mosco in 1517 and 1526, on embassies relating to Polish affairs, and who resided there several months, has left full particulars of this city. At that time Mosco had a great many churches, 45,500 houses and cottages, and 100,000 inhabitants; a handsome *gostinny dvor*, or bazaar, surrounded by a stone wall, stood in the Great, or New Suburb, *i.e.*, outside the Kremlin. This, in 1534, was surrounded by a moat, and afterwards by a wall with towers, abutting on the Kremlin on the east side, and forming the enclosure now so well known as the *Kitai gorod* (*i.e.*, central town), a name it received afterwards because of its central position between the *Zemlianoi gorod* (earthen town, *i.e.*, surrounded by an earthen rampart) and the Kremlin. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Mosco, with its suburbs, had a circumference of twenty versts, or about twelve miles; the princes and wealthy boyards lived inside the Kremlin. The *Kitai gorod* was the great place of trade and barter; here, too, lived wealthy boyards and guests. The *Biely gorod* (white town) was the resort of boyards, merchants, and burghers, whilst in the *Zemlianoi gorod* lived the black, or common people. The oldest historical buildings of Mosco are the walls of the Kremlin, with those of the adjoining *Kitai gorod*, some of the towers, and the *Lobnoye mesto* opposite the Spassky gate, mentioned in the documents of the sixteenth century as the place where the people assembled to hear laws promulgated and the affairs of State and Church decided. In the Kremlin itself are the *Teremny dvoretz*, the private palace of the Tsars, dating from 1487, restored in 1836, according to the ancient design, and the Cathedral of the Assumption, built by the Venetian Fioraventi, under Ivan the Third's orders, the walls of which have survived so many fires and disasters, and are still standing. These buildings must have been actually seen by Jenkinson. Of others, such as the *Granovitaya palata*, the grand banqueting and audience hall, modern changes have left but little resemblance to what they were then. But the general appearance of the city, with its irregular streets, its numerous churches and monasteries, its great market-places and bazaars, has remained the same.—Semeonof, art. "Mosco"; *Herberstein*, Hakl. Soc., ii, 1-7.

of wood, and some of stone, with windowes of yron, which serue for summer time. There are many faire Churches of stone, but more of wood, which are made hot in the winter time. The Emperours lodging is in a faire, and large castle, walled foure square of bricke, high, and thicke, situated vpon a hil, two miles about, and the riuer on the Southwest side of it, and it hath 16. gates in the wals, and as many bulwarks. His pallace is separated from the rest of the Castle, by a long wall going north and south, to the riuer side. In his pallace are Churches, some of stone, and some of wood, with round towers, fairely gilded. In the Church doores and within the Churches, are images of golde: the chiefe markets for all things, are within the saide Castle, and for sundry thinges, sundry markets, and euery science by itselfe. Also in the winter there is a great market without the Castle, vpon the riuer being frozen, and there is sold corne, earthen pots, tubs, sleds, &c. The Castle is in circuite 2900. pases.

The cuntrie is full of marish ground, and plaine, in woods and riuers abundant, but it bringeth foorth good plentie of corne. This Emperour is of great power: for he hath conquered much, as well of the *Lyfflanders*,[1] *Poles*,

[1] *Lyfflanders* (Livonians), German inhabitants of Livland, one of the Baltic provinces of Russia. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Livland was under the Teutonic Knights, whose power soon afterwards declined. They showed jealousy at the progress of Russia, and thwarted her plans by preventing artisans and handicraftsmen engaged in Germany from entering Russia and instructing its people. They also placed an embargo on the import of arms and metals into this country, attributing to Ivan ambitious designs of conquest, which were not altogether foreign to his policy. Accordingly, when, in 1554, ambassadors from Livonia sued for a renewal of the peace which had lasted fifty years, Ivan exacted conditions; and these not having been fulfilled, he assumed the title of "King of Livonia", and sent his army to invade this country in the autumn of 1557. After laying it waste and burning several towns, his troops returned in February 1558 to Ivangorod on the Narova. Narva itself was taken in the spring of the same year. This, followed by the capitulation of Dorpat and other successes, made Ivan master of Livonia, broke the

Lettos,[1] and *Swethens,*[2] as also of the *Tartars* and *Gentiles,* called *Samoydes,*[3] hauing thereby much inlarged his do-

power of the Teutonic Knights, and opened the Baltic to Russian commerce.—*Karamsin*, viii, p. 292, *seq.*

[1] *Lettos* (Letts), a people of Slavonian origin, inhabiting Lithuania and parts of Livland. In the sixteenth century, Lithuania formed part of Poland. Augustus, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, espoused the cause of Livonia, and encouraged the Teutonic Knights to resist Russia. He wrote a haughty letter to Ivan, demanding the evacuation of the Baltic provinces by his troops. This demand was as haughtily declined by the Tsar, who prepared for war with Poland, which he saw had become inevitable. The language of the Letts is said to be nearer Sanskrit than any other of the Aryan group.—*Karamsin*, viii, p. 358.

[2] *Swethens* (Swedes). Gustavus Vasa looked with anxiety at the increasing power of Russia, and formed a league with Poland, Livonia, Prussia, and Denmark to oppose their common enemy, endeavouring, though unsuccessfully, to enlist Queen Mary of England in the cause, and induce her to prohibit the English from trading with Russia. Hostilities having commenced, Gustavus thought to gain an easy victory. But his troops, having failed to take a Russian fortress, were obliged to act on the defensive, and being worsted in several encounters, Gustavus made peace, and sent an embassy, composed of his principal officers of State, to Mosco, in February 1557, to arrange terms with the Tsar.—*Karamsin*, viii, p. 274, *seq.*

[3] *Samoydes* (Samoyèdes), a people of Altaic race, inhabiting Northern Russia in Europe and the shore of the Arctic Sea as far east as the Gulf of Taimur. They are allied with Yakùtes and other people of Finnish race, and, like these, are becoming extinct, some of their tribes having lost their distinctive characteristics. Of their early history but little is known; some believe them to have originally come from High Asia, and to have been driven towards the north-west of the continent by the Huns. This was the opinion of Castrèn, who devoted himself to this branch of ethnographical research. Though they came into contact with the Russians in the fifteenth century, they have remained to this day singularly free from Russian influences and Christianity. They are, strictly speaking, nomads wandering from place to place with their reindeer, living in tents made of the skins of this animal, and pursuing their occupations of hunters and fishermen. They are of medium height, strongly built, muscular, and active, with flat, wide faces, large heads, straight black hair, and small obliquely-set eyes. They worship idols, but acknowledge one supreme being, "Sam Num", to whom their Shamans, or priests, pray.

minions. He keepeth his people in great subiection: all matters passe his iudgement, be they neuer so small. The lawe is sharpe for all offenders.

The Metropolitan[1] dealeth in matters of religion, as himselfe listeth, whome the Emperour greatly honoreth. They vse the ceremonies and orders of the Greeke Church. They worship many images, painted on tables, and specially the image of *S. Nicholas.* Their Priests be married, but their wiues being dead, they may not marrie the second time, and so become Monkes, whereof there are a great number in the land.

They haue foure Lents in the yeere, and the weeke before Shroftide they call the Butter weeke, &c.

They haue many sortes of meates and drinkes when they banket, and delight in eating of grosse meates and stinking fishe. Before they drinke, they vse to blowe in the cup: their greatest friendship is in drinking: they are great talkers, & liers, without any faith or trust in their words, flatterers, and dissemblers. The women be there very obedient to their husbands, and are kept straightly from going abroad, but at some seasons.[2]

(Semeonof, art. "Samoyède".) Steven Burrough gives a description of them and their idol worship in the journal of his voyage to the River Obi.—*Hakl.*, 1589, p. 318.

[1] Archbishop Macarius, renowned for his intelligence and active piety, was made Metropolitan in 1542 through the influence of the Shuisky party, during the minority of Ivan. In those days the Metropolitan exercised his high functions. He alone had free access to the sovereign, advised with him on affairs of State, and opposed his influence to that of powerful nobles. (*Karamsin*, viii, p. 37.) Metropolitans of the present day do not venture to interfere in State affairs; in all other respects the Greek Church in Russia is but little altered.

[2] Russian domestic life in the sixteenth century was greatly influenced by the Mongol dominion, which lasted upwards of two centuries. In nothing was this more apparent than in the seclusion of women and the degraded position they held in the family. When she went out of doors the woman covered her face with the *fata*, or thick veil, like that worn by Persian women of the present day. Like

At my being there, I heard of men, and women, that drunke away their children, and all their goods, at the Emperours tauerne, and not being able to pay, hauing impauned himselfe, the Tauerner bringeth him out to the high way, and beates him vpon the legges: then they that passe by, knowing the cause, and hauing peraduenture compassion vpon him, giueth the monie, and so he is ransomed.

In euery good towne, there is a drunken Tauerne, called a Cursemay, which the Emperour sometime letteth out to farme, & sometimes bestoweth for a yeere or two on some Duke or Gentleman, in recompence of his seruice: and for that time he is Lord of all the Towne, robbing and spoiling, and doing what pleaseth him: and then he being growen

these, too, she painted her face and darkened her eyebrows, so that, to use the quaint language of the period, a man might discern the colours hanging on the woman's face "almost a flight shoot off", and they looked "as though they were beaten about the face with a bag of meal", while their eyebrows were as black as jet. Rambaud, in his history of Russia, remarks that the custom of secluding women in Russia was older than the Tartar invasion. He traces it to the Asiatic origin of the Slavs, and Byzantine influence, drawing a parallel between the *gynæcum* of the Middle Ages in Byzantium, and the *terem*, or *verkh*, the upper or women's apartment in Mosco. Without pausing to consider a subject of no little ethnological interest, we may observe that modern Russian travellers find a counterpart of old Russian manners and customs in those prevailing at the courts of petty Asiatic princes at the present day.

As to the obedience of women to their husbands, Herberstein relates an odd anecdote of a German artilleryman married to a Russian wife. The lady reproached her husband for not proving his love by beating her. He complied with her wishes, and finally cut off her head and legs. In England, women were also barbarously treated, if we may believe an old distich:

"A wife, a spaniel, a walnut-tree,
The more you beat them the better they be."

"Beat your shuba" (*i.e.*, fur overcoat), says the Russian proverb, "and it will be warmer; beat your wife, and she shall be sweeter."—*Hakl.*, 1589, p. 346; *Rambaud*, i, 316-319; *Herberstein*, Hakl. Soc., i, 94; Javorsky's *Travels of the Russian Mission to Afghanistan*, vol. i, p. 37.

riche, is taken by the Emperour, and sent to the warres againe, where he shall spend all that which he hath gotten by ill meanes: so that the Emperour in his warres is little charged, but all the burden lieth vpon the poore people.

They vse sadles made of wood and sinewes, with the tree gilded w^t^ damaske work, and the seate couered with cloth, sometimes of golde, and the rest *Saphian*[1] leather, well stitched. They vse little drummes at their sadle bowes, by the sound whereof, their horses vse to runne more swiftly.

The *Russe* is apparelled in this manner[2]: his vpper garment is of cloth of golde, silke, or cloth, long, downe to the foote, and buttened with great buttons of siluer, or els laces of silke, set on with brooches, the sleeues thereof very long, which he weareth on his arme, ruffed vp. Vnder that he hath another long garment, buttoned with silke buttons, with a high coller standing vp of some colour, and that garment is made straight. Then his shirt is very fine, and wrought with red silke, or some gold, with a coller of pearle. Vnder his shirt he hath linnen breeches vpon his legges, a paire of hose without feete, & his bootes of red or yellow leather.

[1] *Saphian* (pronounced *Saffian*), Russian for leather made from goatskin.

[2] An engraving in *Herberstein* (vol. i, p. 96) represents the dress and equipments of the Russian boyard of the sixteenth century. Its completely Asiatic character has been preserved to our day among the lower orders. The long upper garment, or *kaftan*, reaching to the feet, with long sleeves ruffed up the arm, and the red shirt, are worn by traders and peasants of modern Russia. Herberstein says:—"They all use the same kind of dress and bodygear; they wear oblong tunics without folds, and with rather tight sleeves, almost in the Hungarian style, in which the Christians have buttons to fasten the breast on the right side; but Tartars, who wear a similar garment, have the buttons on the left side. They wear boots of a colour approaching to red, and rather short, so as not to reach the knees; the soles are protected with iron nails. They nearly all have shirts ornamented round the neck with various colours, fastened with necklaces, or with silver or copper gilt beads with clasps added for ornament's sake."—(i, p. 100.)

On his head he weareth a white Colepecke,[1] with buttons of siluer, gold, pearle, or stone, and vnder it a blacke Foxe cap, turned vp very broad.

When he rideth on horse backe to the warres, or any iourney, he hath a sword of the Turkish fashion, and his bowe and arrowes of the same manner. In the towne he weareth no weapon, but onely two or three paire of kniues hauing the hafts of the tooth of a fishe, called the Morse.[2]

In the Winter time, the people trauell with sleds, in Towne and Countrey, the way being hard, and smooth with snow: the waters and riuers are all frozen, and one horse with a sled, will draw a man vpon it 400. miles, in three daies: but in the Summer time, the way is deepe with mire, and trauelling is very ill.

The *Russe*, if he be a man of any abilitie, neuer goeth out of his house in the Winter, but vpon his sled, and in Summer vpon his horse: and in his sled he sits vpon a carpet, or a white Beares skinne: the sled is drawen with a horse well decked, with many Foxes and Woolues tailes at his necke,[3] & is conducted by a litle boy vpon his backe: his seruants stand vpon the taile of the sled, &c.

[1] *Colepecke* (kolpak), a word of purely Tartar origin, meaning the back of the head, and afterwards applied to a covering for the head; it corresponds with the Russian *shapka* (probably Eng. *shako*, French *chapeau*), and was applied to any kind of headgear. Herberstein (p. 106) mentions their white peaked hats of felt (of which coarse mantles were made) rough from the shop. The word is found in the name "Kara-kalpak", or Black Caps, a tribe of Mongol Turks, settled in the delta of Amu-daria. See Wood's *Shores of Lake Aral*, p. 189.

[2] *Morse* (walrus). Professor Nordenskiöld says that doubtless the walrus was hunted by Polar tribes long before the historic period, implements of walrus-bone having been found among the Northern graves. Walrus tusks were an article of export to Lithuania and Turkey; and the Turks manufactured of them dagger-handles.—*Voyage of the Vega*, i, 158; see also *Herberstein*, i, 112; and ii, 111.

[3] Such ornaments as are described in the text have become obsolete; so also is the driving with a postillion. It is only in the case of some great Church dignitary that a postillion is used, but this is disappearing.

The voyage of M. Anthony Ienkinson, made from the citie of Mosco in Russia, to the citie of Boghar in Bactria, in the yere 1558: written by himselfe to the Merchants of London of the Moscouie companie.[1]

THE 23. day of Aprill, in the yeere 1558 (hauing obteined the Emperour of Russia his letters, directed vnto sundry kings and princes, by whose dominions I should passe) I departed from Mosco by water, hauing with me two of your seruants, namely, Richard Johnson and Robert Johnson,[2] and a Tartar Tolmach,[3] with diuers parcels of wares, as by the inuentory appeareth: and the 28. day we came to a towne called *Collom*,[4] distant from the Mosco 20. leagues, & passing

[1] *Hakluyt*, 1589, p. 347.

[2] Of the two Johnsons, Richard was appointed by the Russia Company in 1565 to the command of an expedition to Persia. He does not appear, however, to have been a suitable person for this post, judging from a letter of the directors printed in *Hakluyt*:—"We marveile that Richard Johnson was sent into Persia as chefe, being a man in our opinion unfitt for that chardge, and nothing so fitte as another." —See *Hakluyt*, 1589, p. 376; Hamel, *England and Russia*, p. 169.

[3] *Tolmatch* is a Tartar word meaning "interpreter". From its close resemblance to "Tollemache", it is possible that the noble family of this name may be descended from a Tartar ancestor. The suggestion may, perhaps, interest some learned antiquary.

[4] *Collom* (Kolomna) stands on the right bank of the Moskva, at its confluence with the Okà, and is the chief town of a district of the Government of Mosco, sixty-seven miles from the capital. Kolomna is mentioned in chronicles as far back as 1177. At that time, and down to the fourteenth century, it formed part of the Duchy of Riazan. It was frequently sacked by the Tartars and Poles, and in 1525 was completely destroyed by Makhmet Ghirei, Khan of the Crimea. Ivan III rebuilt the walls and fortifications, which exist to the present day. Kolomna became a place of banishment for persons of distinction; it received a few of the exiled Novgorodians when

one league beyond the said *Collom,* we came vnto a riuer called *Occa,*[1] into the which the riuer Mosco falleth, and looseth his name: and passing downe the said riuer *Occa* 8. leagues, we came vnto a castle called *Terreuettisko,*[2] which we left vpon our right hand, and proceeding forward, the second day of May, we came vnto another castle called *Peroslaue,*[3] distant 8. leagues, leauing it also on our right

Ivan IV reduced their city to ashes. In the sixteenth century, however, when our traveller visited it, Kolomna was a mustering ground or rendezvous for the various expeditions against the Tartars. —Semeonof, art. "Kolomna".

[1] *Occa* (Okà) is a name borne by several rivers in Russia ; the most important is that mentioned in the text, a right tributary of the Volga. The Okà has a length of 930 miles, and drains an area of 4,600 square geographical miles. It flows through populous districts, and is a valuable means of communication between manufacturing and agricultural settlements on its banks.

[2] Terreuettisko (Perevitsky Torjok), a village in the Government of Riazan, twenty miles from the district town of Zaraisk. This village occupies the site of the ancient town of Perevitsk, mentioned in the diary of Pimen, Metropolitan of Mosco in 1381. Ruins of old fortifications are still to be seen on the high bank of the Okà.— Semeonof, art. "Perevitsky Torjok".

[3] *Peroslaue* (Pereslavl, or Pereyaslavl) is the modern town of Riazan, still known as Pereslavl-Riazan, to distinguish it from Pereslavl-Zalesski (*ante*, p. 29), a town in the Government of Vladimir. The exact year of the foundation of Pereslavl is unknown. According to an old chronicle, when Roman-Igorevitch, grandson of Gleb, was prince, Bishop Arsenius I. laid its foundations in 1198 A.D., near a lake, "with prayers and blessing of waters"; some, however, attribute to it a still earlier existence (1095), and mention Yaroslavl, the son of Sviatoslavl, a famous builder of cities, as its founder. Till the end of the thirteenth century, Pereslavl occupied an insignificant position among Russian cities; but in 1294 there happened a miracle. St. Vassili, Bishop of Murom, floated thither down the Okà on his mantle—a perilous kind of raft, which he was compelled to venture upon owing to the slanderous accusations of his leading an immoral life brought by the inhabitants of Murom. At Pereslavl the worthy bishop established his see, joining Murom with it. Pereslavl, thus honoured, rose to a high position in the religious world, and became the residence of the princes of Riazan, who removed hither from Old Riazan. From that time Pereslavl became one of the most important towns of

hand. The third day we came vnto the place where Olde *Rezan*[1] was situate, being now most of it ruined and ouergrowen, and distant from the said *Peroslaue* 6. leagues: the 4. day we passed by a castle called *Terecouia*,[2] from *Rezan* 12. leagues, and the 6. day we came to another castle called *Cassim*,[3] vnder the gouernment of a Tartar prince named

Russia, completely eclipsing Old Riazan. It shared, in common with so many other cities, in the misfortunes attending Tartar invasions; but, in 1564, saw for the last time before its walls the Tartar host, led by Devlet Ghirei, Khan of the Crimea, who was compelled to retire after ravaging the environs.—Semeonof, art. "Pereslavl-Riazan".

[1] Old Riazan is now merely a village standing on the high right bank of the Okà. Its early history was a troublous one, and it suffered many a shock from Tartar hordes and rival Slav princes. In 1237, Batu, grandson of Jinghiz Khan, destroyed it; and twenty years before that date, Vsevolod, son of Yuri, Prince of Vladimir, reduced it to ashes. These misfortunes, but chiefly its unsuitable geographical position, caused its abandonment, and gradually New or Pereslavl-Riazan became the capital. A ruined fortress, defended on three sides by ramparts, on the fourth by the precipitous bank of the river, long marked its site, and excavations made in its environs during the present century have brought to light interesting historical relics of the old princes of Riazan. These are preserved in the Granovitaya Palata at Mosco.—Semeonof, art. "Riazan Staraia".

[2] *Terecouia*, on Jenkinson's map "Tereckhoue" (Terikhovo), is a village in the Spassky district of the Government of Riazan, thirty miles from the town of Spassky. It stood on the Okà, near the mouth of the Pora, and was the site of a monastery referred to in the *Bolshoi chertej*, or great survey of Russia, referred to the thirteenth century. Terikhovo received a charter in 1520.—Semeonof, art. "Terikhovo".

[3] *Cassim* (Kassimof), on the left bank of the Okà, is the chief town of a district of that name in the Government of Riazan, with a history buried, like its ancient walls, by Mongol hordes in 1376. Ancient *gramota*, or Acts, refer to it under the name of Meschersk; and in 1452 the place must have so far recovered its downfall as to have been thought worthy a gift by Duke Vassili the Blind to the Tartar prince Kassim, as a mark of gratitude for assistance rendered him in recovering his Duchy of Mosco from a usurper of the name of Shemiaka. Since that time the town was better known as Kassimof, though later Acts continue to mention it under its ancient name. For upwards of two centuries, from 1452 to 1677, the Tartar princes, or

Vtzar Zegoline,[1] sometime Emperor of the worthy citie of *Cazan*, and now subiect vnto the Emperor of Russia. But leauing *Cassim* on our left hand, the 8. day we came vnto a fayre towne called *Morom*,[2] from *Cassim* 20. leagues, where

Tsarevitchi (*i.e.*, sons of Tsars) of Kassimof, remained faithful adherents of Mosco, and assisted her in her wars against Tartars, Novgorod, Livonia, and Poland.—Semeonof, art. "Kassimof".

[1] Shah Ali is the Tartar prince spoken of under the name of *Tsar Zegoline*. He was made Khan of Kazan in 1519, but was obliged to abdicate in 1521, owing to his unpopularity with the Tartars. He then took refuge with the Russian Grand Duke Vassili, who gave him two towns as his portion. In 1526 Herberstein saw him in Mosco, and speaks of him as "King Scheale", holding high position at Court. Having been convicted of traitorous dealings with Kazan, he was imprisoned and kept in captivity for several years, but was pardoned by Ivan the Terrible, and received a gift of the town of Meschersk (Kassimof). Twice again he was placed on the throne of Kazan, but only reigned for short periods. He served the Russians in their wars against Sweden, Livonia, and Poland, returning from these campaigns to Kassimof, where he erected a mausoleum, in which he was interred in 1567. This, and an inscription in Arabic relating to him, are still preserved.—Veliaminof Zernof, *Izsledovaniya o Kassimofskikh Tsariakh*, pt. I, pp. 277-558 ; *Howorth*, pt. II, div. 1, pp. 400-34 ; *Herberstein*, ii, 134-137.

[2] Murom, in 55° 35′ N. lat., is well situated on the high left bank of the Okà, here a broad, navigable river ; and is surrounded by great forests abounding in bees and wild animals. With these advantages it has also another, that of being the mart or place of interchange of the products of the manufacturing districts on the west and the fertile corn-producing plains on the east. Murom is one of the very oldest cities of Russia, and is connected with her popular legendary hero, Ilya Murometz (*i.e.*, Elijah of Murom). The name is said to have been derived from a Finnish tribe, who founded it in the ninth century, and who were, according to Nestor, subject to Rurik the Varangian. In the eleventh century, Murom formed an independent dukedom, and its first prince was Gleb, son of Vladimir, who reigned till 1016. Subsequently its princes appear to have owned allegiance to other dukes, and in 1353, in the time of the last of their rulers, Yuri-Yaroslavitch, they became united with Vladimir, and were afterwards incorporated with Mosco. Murom was ravaged by the Bolghars in 1087; in 1096 it was taken by Isiaslaf, son of Monomachos. In 1239, 1281, and 1293 the Tartars laid it waste; and at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Poles put to the sword whole suburbs

we tooke the sonne, and found the latitude 56. degrees: and proceeding forward the 11. day, we came vnto another fayre towne and castle called *Nyse Nouogrod*,[1] situated at the falling of the foresaid riuer *Occa* into the woorthy riuer of *Volga*, distant from the said *Morom* 25. leagues, in the latitude of 56. degrees 18. minuts. From *Rezan* to this *Nyse Nouogrod*, on both sides the said riuer of *Occa*, is raised the greatest store of waxe and hony[2] in all the land of Russia. We tarryed at the foresayd *Nyse Nouogrod*, vntill the 19. day, for the comming of a captaine which was sent by the Emperour to rule at *Astracan*, who being arriued, and hauing the number of 500. great boates vnder his conduct, same laden with victualles, souldiers, and munition: and other some with merchandize, departed altogether the said 19. day from the said *Nyse Nouogrod*, and the 22. we came vnto a castle called

inhabited by its fishermen. The traveller Lepekhin, who visited Murom in 1768, found there eighteen churches and two monasteries, and a population engaged chiefly in raising cucumbers and fishing. The most ancient of its churches is the Cathedral of the Nativity, containing the relics of David, Prince of Murom, and his wife Theophronia, who died in 1228.—Semeonof, art. "Murom".

[1] Nijny Novgorod (lat. 56° 20′ N.), the seat of the great annual fair visited by foreigners from all countries, came within that tract known to Russians in early days as *Nizovskiye Zemli* (the lowlands), comprising the country inhabited by the Finnish tribe of Mordva, who were subjugated by the Russians after they had founded their Dukedom of Suzdal. Here, in 1221, Yuri, son of Vsevolod, founded a town at the mouth of the Okà, and gave it the name of *Novgrad* (*i.e.*, New Town). From the commencement, Novgorod promised to become great, notwithstanding every kind of disaster, and it finally rose to the first rank among Russian towns. Its commanding position at the confluence of two great rivers, its enormous transit trade, and its fair, have made it prosperous. The fortress, or "castle", stands on the high right bank of the Volga, overlooking its broad stream, and the lowlands on the opposite side.—Semeonof, art. "Nijny Novgorod".

[2] The forests round Murom abounded with bees, affording inexhaustible supplies of beeswax, an article of commerce in great demand in those days by English merchants.—See Killingworth's letter to the merchant adventurers, *Hakluyt*, 1589, p. 299.

Vasiliagorod,[1] distant 25. leagues, which we left upon our right hand. This towne or castle had his name of this Emperours father, who was called *Vasilius*, and *gorod* in the Russe tongue, is as much to say as a castle, so that *Vasiliagorod*, is to say, *Vasilius* castle: and it was the furthest place that the sayd Emperor conquered from the Tartarres. But this present Emperour his sonne, called *Iuan Vasiliwich*, hath had great good successe in his warres, both against the Christians and also the Mahometists and Gentils, but especially against the Tartarres, inlarging his Empyre euen to the Caspian sea,[2] hauing conquered the famous riuer of *Volga*, with all the countryes thereabout adiacent. Thus proceeding on our iourney the 25. day of May aforesaid, we came to another castle called *Sabowshare*,[3] which we left on

[1] Vassil, otherwise known as Vassilsursk (*i.e.*, Vassil on the Sura, a right affluent of the Volga), was built by Vassili, father of Ivan IV, in 1523, while at war with Sahib Ghirei, Tzar of Kazan. Vassilsursk stands at the confluence of the Sura with the Volga, on high ground, and parts of the old fortifications are still visible. It is now the chief town of a district of the same name included in the Government of Nijny Novgorod.—Semeonof, art. "Vassil".

[2] At this period of his reign (1557-58), Ivan IV had triumphed over the enemies of Russia. Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden, had sued for peace; Lithuania had renewed the truce; whilst the Tartar kingdoms of Kazan and Astrakhan had fallen at the feet of the conqueror. By the downfall of these Tartar principalities, the Volga had become throughout its entire course to the Caspian a Russian river. "It is most probable", says the historian, "had Ivan then followed up his victories and turned his arms against the Crimea, he would have found a third Tartar state at his feet, and thus advanced by two centuries the most glorious event in the reign of the Empress Catherine II."—*Karamsin*, viii, 268-269.

[3] *Sabowshare* (Cheboksari), a district town of the Government of Kazan, on the right bank of the Volga, eighty miles from Kazan. It is picturesquely situated in a hollow surrounded on three sides by wooded hills, and suffers in consequence from muddy streets. According to tradition, a village of Chuvashes once stood here, and the name of their chief Shabkmar is said to be perpetuated in "Cheboksari". The place is mentioned in documents in 1371, when Prince Dmitri Joannovitch went to the horde of Mamai. For two

our right hand, distant from *Vasiliagorod* 16 leagues. The country heerabout is called *Mardouits*,[1] and the habitantes did professe the law of the Gentils: but now being conquered by this Emperour of *Russia*, most of them are Christened, but lie in the woods and wildernesse, without towne or habitation.

centuries after this its name does not occur; only after the fall of Kazan is it found in the list of fortified places garrisoned by Streltsi. Cheboksari in recent times has become a commercial town of importance, owing to its position with reference to the grain-producing districts.—Semeonof, art. "Cheboksari".

[1] Mordovits (*i.e.*, the country of the Mordva), a Finnish tribe occupying parts of the Volga provinces, and extending as far east as the southern Ural and west to the Moksha. At the present day they are most numerous in the Government of Simbirsk, where they form twelve per cent. of the population. Their numbers in European Russia have been estimated at 775,000 of both sexes. Jornandes, in the sixth century, is the first writer who mentions them; though, if their tribe Ersia be identical with the Aorsi, the first notices of this people are much older, for they are referred to by Ptolemy, Strabo, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Nestor, the annalist, speaks of the Mordva, and places them next to their kinsmen, the Meri. In 1104, the Russian prince, Yaroslavl Sviatoslavitch, attacked them, but was defeated with heavy loss; and it was only with the removal of the grand ducal throne to Vladimir that the Russians began gradually to subjugate the Mordva and colonise their territory. During the Tartar dominion, Russian influence over this tribe made but little progress; after the fall of Kazan, however, the Mordva and their allied tribe, the Cheremissi, were compelled to surrender their independence, and soon embraced the faith of their conquerors, who pushed their colonies far into their land. The Mordva not only learnt Russian, but in course of time forgot their own language, which was only preserved in their songs and by the women. In some places they have intermingled so much with the Russians as to be hardly distinguishable from them. Their physical characteristics are—medium height; fair or reddish hair; blue or grey eyes. The men are often good-looking, the women rarely. In manners they are gentle, honest, and hospitable, but superstitious, somewhat dirty, and addicted to strong drinks. They are all good agriculturists. In dress the men are hardly to be distinguished from Russian peasants; the women wear white linen shirts, embroidered with red wool, confined at the waist with a broad belt of variegated woollen stuff and various metal ornaments; high pointed head-dresses, embroidered and hung with coins and beads, and necklaces of coins or beads.—Semeonof, art. "Mordva".

The 27. day we passed by another castle called *Swyasko*,[1] distant from *Shabowshare* aforesaid 25. leagues: we left it on our right hand, and the 29. came vnto an Island one league
Cazan. from the citie of *Cazan*,[2] from which falleth downe a riuer

[1] *Swyasko*, on Jenkinson's map "Suiatsko" (Sviajsk), a district town of the Government of Kazan, on the right bank of the Sviaga, near its confluence with the Volga. Sviajsk was founded by Ivan in 1551 as a military post for the campaigns against the Tartars of Kazan and the Finnish tribes on the Volga. Karamsin, in describing Ivan's march to Kazan in 1552, says: "Le 13 Août, on aperçut Sviajsk, et ce fut avec la plus vive satisfaction que le tzar fixa ses regards sur cette ville naissante, fondée sous son règne, pour attester les victoires des Russes et le triomphe des Chrétiens sur les infidèles." Sviajsk was once a prosperous place, but towards the end of the eighteenth century it declined, its mercantile and industrial inhabitants having transferred themselves to the neighbouring Kazan. Archæologists have supposed that Sviajsk occupied the site of Suvar or Siva, an ancient town of the Bolgars, existing in the tenth century; but this is doubtful.—*Shpelefsky*, p. 49; *Karamsin*, viii, p. 149; Semeonof, art. "Sviajsk".

[2] Kazan, capital of the Government of this name, stands about three miles from the Volga, on the River Kazanka. Kazan, in its present position, only dates from the fifteenth century; the ruins of the earlier town, mentioned in Russian chronicles as having been destroyed by the Novgorodian free bands in 1361, being situate near Kniaz Kamaief village, and the name Staraia (Old) Kazan still lingers about the place. Kazan was in those days frequently pillaged by the Russians, and did not become important till after the downfall of Bolghar. In 1399, Kazan was completely demolished, and Ulu Makhmet, who established the Tartar kingdom of Kazan, decided upon finding a more suitable site for his capital. Accordingly, about the year 1437, he founded a new town, surrounding it with wooden walls; and this, under his successors, grew in wealth and became an emporium of commerce. This is Karamsin's version, but M. Veliaminof Zernof, in his *Tsars of Kassimof*, says Kazan was not demolished in 1399, but continued to be ruled by its own princes till 1445, when Makhmutek, son of Ulu-Muhammed (Makhmet), formerly Khan of the Golden Horde, took it in war, and founded the new Tartar Khanat of Kazan (cf. *Karamsin*, v, 324-327; *V. Zernof*, i, 1-13). In 1552 (not 1549, as would appear by Jenkinson's reckoning), Ivan laid siege to Kazan, personally conducting operations against the Tartar stronghold. In 1553, Kazan was formed into an eparchy, and its first archbishop was St. Gouri, whose remains are preserved in the cathedral.—Semeonof, art. "Kazan".

called *Cazanka reca*, & entreth into the foresaid *Volga*. *Cazan* is a fayre towne, after the Russe or Tartar fashion, with a strong castle, situated vpon a high hill, and was walled round about with timber and earth, but now the Emperour of *Russia* hath giuen order to plucke downe the olde walles and to build them againe of free stone. It hath bene a city of great wealth and riches, and being in the hands of the Tartarres, it was a kingdome of it selfe, and did more vexe the Russes in their warres, then any other nation: but 9. yeeres past, this Emperour of *Russia* conquered it, and tooke the king captiue, who being but yoong is now baptised and brought vp in his court with two other princes, which were also kings of the said *Cazan*, and being ech of them in time of their raignes in danger of their subiects through ciuil discord, came and rendred themselues at seuerall times vnto the said Emperor, so that at this present there are three princes[1] in the court of *Russia*, which had beene Emperours of the said *Cazan*, whom the Emperour vseth with great honor.

We remained at *Cazan* till the 13. day of Iune, and then departed from thence: and the same day passed by an Island called the Island of merchants,[2] because it was woont to be

[1] Upon the death of Safa Ghirei in his palace at Kazan, caused by an accident while he was drunk, his son Utemit Ghirei Khan, at that time (1549) only two years of age, was declared his successor. This is the prince to whom reference is made in a previous part of the narrative (*ante*, p. 31). The two other princes mentioned in the text were probably Shah Ali (*ante*, p. 44), placed on the throne of Kazan by Ivan; and Yedigher Makhmet, a Nogai, who usurped and defended it to the last, and who was captured by the Russians in the last desperate struggle at the walls.—*Karamsin*, viii, pp. 99, 187, *et passim*.

[2] This island, named by Russians "Gostinny" (guests'), was a great resort of merchants till Vassili, father of Ivan, forbade his subjects from landing there, in order to inconvenience the Tartars, who bought salt from Russians. He removed the annual fair to Makarief, on the left bank of the Volga, a little way below Nijny Novgorod. To the latter town it was afterwards transferred, though continuing to this

a place where all merchants, as well Russes and Cazanits, as Nagayans and Crymmes, and diuers other nations did resort to keepe mart for buying and selling, but now it is forsaken, and standeth without any such resort thither, or at *Cazan*, or at any place about it, from *Mosco* vnto *Mare Caspium*.

Thus proceeding forward the 14. day, we passed by a goodly riuer called *Camà*,[1] which we left on our left hand. This riuer falleth out of the countrey of *Perania*[2] into the riuer of *Volga*, and is from *Cazan* 15. leagues, and the countrey lying betwixt the said *Cazan* and the said riuer *Cama* on the left hand of *Volga* is called *Vachen*,[3] and the inha-

day, to be called "Makarief fair". (*Howorth*, pt. II, p. 390.) Ivan's wars were doubtless disastrous to the Levantine trade, which formerly passed this way.

[1] The Kama falls into the Volga about fifty miles below Kazan. Its course through the Governments of Perm and Viatka is over 1,000 miles long, much of which is navigable. It is the highway of communication in summer for the trade with Siberia and the mining districts of the Ural, and may be rightly termed "a goodly river".

[2] Permia has given its name to a series of fossiliferous rocks widely distributed through Northern Europe. In ancient times it was known as a country inhabited by Finnish tribes, precursors of the Russians, the "Biarmar" of Scandinavians, the Permia of Byzantine writers, and the Great *(Veliki)* Perm of Russian annalists. Nestor, in recapitulating the nations who lived to the east of the Russ, makes mention of it. The enterprising Novgorodians were the first to enter into relations with it, and levied tribute there as early as the eleventh century. In the thirteenth century it is mentioned as their dependency in treaties with neighbouring Russian princes; and it was only on the fall of Novgorod, in 1471, that Permia was finally united with the dukedom of Mosco. Its first Russian colonisers and defenders were the Stroganofs, who received grants of land along the Kama. The present Government of Perm includes nearly all the more important mining districts in the northern Ural. These are grouped round Ekaterinburg, perhaps the most progressive and flourishing of Russian towns.—Semeonof, art. "Perm".

[3] *Vachen*, here used for "Votiaken", the country of the Votiaks, a Finnish tribe allied with the Cheremissi (*supra*, p. 24), and among the earliest inhabitants of Viatka and the country to the west, besides parts of the Governments of Kazan and Orenburg. The Votiaks, according to their own traditions, were settled in the Government of Kazan, near

bitantes be Gentils, and liue in the wildernesse without house or habitation: and the countrey on the other side of *Volga* ouer against the said riuer *Cama* is called the land of *Cheremizes*,[1] halfe Gentils, halfe Tartarres, and all the land on the left hand of the said *Volga* from the said riuer vnto *Astracan*, and so following the North and Northeast side of the *Caspian* sea, to a land of the Tartarres called *Turkemen*, is called the countrey of *Mangat* or *Nagay*,[2] whose inhabi- Nagay Tartars.

the modern town of Arsk, whence they were driven out by the Tartars. They called themselves "Ot", "Ut", "Ud", or "Udmurt", but were known among Tartars as the "Ar"; hence, ethnologists believe they may be identified with the "Ara" or "Arini", also a Finnish race, anciently inhabiting parts of Northern Siberia, and particularly the banks of the Yenisei. These "Ara" are supposed to have given their name to the town of Arsk, but are now extinct, their last living representative having been seen by Müller and Gmelin in 1738. The Votiaks, however, are numerous to this day in the Government of Viatka, on the Upper Kama and on the Viatka rivers, and they are said still to number 180,000 of both sexes. As regards their early history but little definite is really known, except that they fell under the sway of the Novgorodians, who, in one of their descents on the Volga towards the close of the twelfth century, took their fortress of Bolvansky. The Votiaks then retired towards the east, and took up their habitations on the River Cheptsa. The Tartar Khan, Sahip, partly colonised Kazan with this people in the thirteenth century; and in 1469, Ibrahim formed them into bands for the defence of this city against the Russians. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the Votiaks living near Arsk rebelled, but were reduced to submission by Ivan; and in his will, dated 1572, they are assigned to his heir, together with the kingdom of Kazan. As late as 1582, however, they were in arms against the Stroganofs; and their conversion to Christianity did not take place till long after Jenkinson's visit.—Semeonof, art. "Votiaki"; *Karamsin*, viii, p. 215.

[1] On the Cheremissi, see note, p. 24.

[2] The Nogai Tartars derived their name from Nogai, grandson of Teval, seventh son of Juchi, the founder of the Golden Horde, and eldest son of Jinghiz Khan. On the death of Batu, Nogai commanded the horde of Kipchak, and became so powerful that his alliance was sought by the Eastern Empire; and Michael Palæologus gave him his natural daughter, Euphrosyne, in marriage. About the middle of the sixteenth century, the Nogais were restricted to the steppes

tantes are of the law of Mahomet, and were all destroyed in the yeere 1558, at my being at *Astracan*, through ciuill warres among them, accompanyed with famine, pestilence, and such plagues, in such sort, that in the sayd yeere there was consumed of the people, in one sort and another, aboue one hundred thousand: the like plague was neuer seéne in those parts, so that the said countrey of *Nagay* being a countrey of great pasture, remaineth now vnreplenished to the great contentation of the Russes, who haue had cruell warres a long time together.

The Nagayans when they florished, liued in this manner: they were diuided into diuers companies called Hords, and euery Hord had a ruler, whom they obeyed as their king, and was called a Murse. Towne or house they had none, but liued in the open fieldes, euery Murse or King hauing his Hords or people about him, with their wiues, children and cattell, who hauing consumed the pasture in one place, remooued vnto another: and when they remooue they haue houses like tents set vpon wagons or carts, which are drawen from place to place with camels, and therin theyr wiues, children, and all theyr riches, which is very little, is caried about, and euery man hath at the least foure or five wiues besides concubines. Use of money they haue none, but doe barter theyr cattell for apparell and other necessaries. They delight in no arte nor science, except the warres, wherein they are expert, but for the most part they be pasturing

Hords.

north of the Caspian and Black Seas, though still exercising great influence in Southern Russia, and extending their raids to Rezan, and even as far as Mosco, as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century. Their Khan, Yussaf, renowned as well for his spirit as for his wisdom, was styled by the Sultan of Turkey, "Prince of Princes"; but the fall of Kazan and Astrakhan, disunion among themselves, plagues, and other reverses had weakened them, and they might at this time have fallen an easy prey to an energetic conqueror.—Semeonof, art. "Nogai"; *Karamsin*, iv, chap. 3; viii, pp. 104, 288; Howorth's *Hist. of the Mongols*, part II, *passim*.

people, and haue great store of cattell, which is all theyr riches. They eate much flesh, and especially the horse, and they drinke mares milke, wherewith they be oftentimes drunke: they are seditious and inclined to theft and murther. Corne they sowe not, neither doe eate any bread, mocking the Christians for the same, and disabling our strengths, saying we liue by eating the toppe of a weede, and drinke a drinke made of the same, allowing theyr great deuouring of flesh, and drinking of milke, to be the increase of theyr strength. But now to proceed forward to my iourney.

All the countrey vpon our right hand the riuer *Volga*, from ouer against the riuer *Cama* vnto the towne of *Astracan*, is the land of *Crimme*,[1] whose inhabitantes be also of the law of *Mahomet*, and liue for the most part according to the fashions of the Nagayes, hauing continuall wars with the Emperour of *Russia*, and are valiant in the field, hauing countenance, and support from the great Turke.

The 16. day of Iune we passed by certaine fishermens

[1] The Krim, or Crimme Tartars were a constant source of trouble and danger to Russia. They poured forth their destructive hosts over the plains between the Volga and the Don; they ravaged every town too weak to resist them, and, in 1571, under Devlet Ghirei, set fire to Mosco and burnt it to the ground. Sultan Solyman regarded them as a bulwark of the Mohammadan power on the east, and exhorted them to rally round the cause of the Prophet, and, laying aside tribal hatreds and jealousies, succour Kazan and Astrakhan. Such was the dread inspired by them in Russia, that, when Ivan was on the point of setting out with his army against Kazan, his chief nobles implored him to remain, representing the danger of leaving his frontiers exposed to these invaders. Their power extended to the right bank of the Volga, including the modern Governments of Saratof and Simbirsk, and no Russian could venture safely east of the Sura, where formerly they had freely traded with the ancient kingdom of Bolghar. Long after they had ceased to be a source of danger to Russia, remnants of their hordes, mixed with Mordvas and outlaws, infested the lower Volga as robbers and pirates; and, as will be seen presently, Jenkinson narrowly escaped falling into their hands. — *Karamsin*, viii and ix, *passim*.

houses called *Petowse*,[1] twentie leagues from the riuer *Cama*, where is great fishing for sturgion, and so continuing our way vntill the 22. day, and passing by another great riuer called *Samar*,[2] which falleth out of the aforesayd countrey, and runneth through *Nagay*, and entreth into the sayd riuer of *Volga*. The 28. day we came vnto a great hill,[3] where was in times past a castle made by the *Crimmes*, but now it is ruined, being the iust midway betweene the sayd *Cazan* and *Astrachan*, which is 200. leagues or therabout, in the latitude of 51. degrees 47. minuts. Vpon all this shore groweth abundance of licorish, whose root runneth within the ground like a vine.

Thus going forward, the sixt day of Iulie we came to a

[1] "Petowse", doubtless a phonetic rendering for *Riboftsi*, "fishermen", the Russian R and English P being interchangeable; for there is no such place as "Petowse" on the Volga.

[2] The Samara rises in the *Obschi Syrt*, or "general water-parting", and after a course of 270 miles, mostly through bare, treeless plains, falls into the Volga at the modern town of Samara. These plains form part of the highly productive, corn-growing districts east of the Volga, celebrated for their *loess*, or black earth deposits. —Semeonof, art. "Samara".

[3] The "great hill" referred to must be that on which Saratof now stands, descending in steep terraces to the Volga, and partially enclosed in an amphitheatre of hills. Its position, about half-way between Kazan and Astrakhan, in lat. 51° 32′, accords fairly well with the text. But in Jenkinson's time Saratof stood on the left bank of the Volga, about seven miles higher up than the present site. It was only removed to the right bank in 1605, probably to the place where the Tartar settlement of Sari-tau (*i.e.*, yellow hill) once stood, and, according to Senkofsky, where their chief town Burtassof was situated. Christopher Burroughs, who passed here in 1579 on his voyage to Persia for the English merchants, speaks of it as *Oueak* (the *Uvek* or *Ucaca* of writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), and gives the latitude as 51° 30′. There is a village of this name near Saratof, where antiquities and coins have been dug up. Burroughs says there were ruins of a castle still visible in his day, and tombstones with characters and devices graven on them. He also mentions the abundance of liquorice.—*Hakl.*, 1589, p. 441; Yule's *Marco Polo*, i, p. 58; Semeonof, art. "Saratof".

place called *Perouolog*,[1] so named because in times past the *Tartarres* carryed their boates from *Volga* vnto the riuer *Tanais*, otherwise called *Don*, by land, when they would robbe such as passed downe the sayd *Volga* to *Astracan*, and also such as passed downe by the riuer *Tanais*, to *Asophe*, *Caffa*, or any other towne situated vpon *Mare Euximum*, into which sea *Tanais*[2] falleth, who hath his springes in the countrey of *Rezan*, out of a plaine ground. It is at this streight of *Perouolog* from the one riuer to the other two leagues by land, and is a dangerous place for theeues and robbers, but now it is not so euill as it hath beene, by reason of the Emperour of *Russia* his conquests.

Departing from *Perouolog*, hauing the wildernesse on both sides, we saw a great heard (*sic*) of *Nagayans*, pasturing, as is abouesayd, by estimation aboue a thousand cammels drawing of carts with houses vpon them like tentes, of a strange fashion, seeming to be a farre off a towne[3]: that Hord was

[1] Perevolog, Pereuolock of Jenkinson's map (from *perevalit*, to drag across), is the name given to a narrow neck of land between the Don and the Volga. The place referred to in the text is a short distance from Tsaritsin, the terminus of the Volga-Don railroad, where the two rivers approach to within eight miles of one another. Christopher Burroughs mentions Perevolog, and says it was reckoned thirty versts (twenty miles) thence to the Don.—Semeonof, art. "Perevolog"; *Hakluyt*, 1589, p. 441.

[2] The Don rises in *Ivan-ozero* (*i.e.*, Ivan's lake, also indicated on Jenkinson's map), in the Government of Tula. Its source is only 586 feet above sea level, and it flows through remarkably level plains inhabited for the most part by the Cossacks, whose exploits against the Tartars were at that time (middle of sixteenth century) becoming known in Russia.—Semeonof, art. "Don"; *Karamsin*, viii, p. 285 *seqq*.

[3] The manner of moving tents on carts drawn by camels was peculiar to those Tartar tribes who led a semi-nomadic life on the plains of southern and south-eastern Russia (see Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd edit., i, 247, where a woodcut is given). Throughout Central Asia the universal practice at the present day is to take the tent to pieces and pack it on the back of a camel or bullock; on arriving at the destination, it is quickly set up, the women being particularly expert at this work.

belonging to a great Murse called *Smille*,[1] the greatest prince in all *Nagay*, who hath slaine and driuen away all the rest, not sparing his owne brethren and children, and hauing peace with this Emperour of *Russia* he hath what he needeth, and ruleth alone, so that now the Russes liue in peace with the *Nagayans*, who were woont to haue mortall warres together.

Astracan. The 14. day of Iuly passing by an olde castle, which was Olde *Astracan*,[2] and leauing it vpon our right hand, we

[1] The title "Murza" is, according to Fischer, derived from the Arabic "Amir Zadeh". Ismael, the prince here referred to, was brother of Yussuf, father-in-law of Safa Ghirei, the expelled Khan of Kazan, and allied by marriage with Shah Ali, Khan of Kassimof, (*supra*, p. 44). Ismael was a warm ally of Russia, helping her in her wars against the Krim Tartars and against the Khan of Astrakhan. After murdering his brother Yussuf, he wrote to the Tsar: "Your enemy is dead, and the people have elected me by acclamation." Ivan cultivated these friendly relations, like the politic monarch he was, but would not suffer himself to be styled "brother" by a Tartar prince. Ismael died in 1563 or 1564.—*Karamsin*, viii, 253; *Howorth*, part II, 1036.

[2] Old Astrakhan (or Stara Astracan of Jenkinson's map), five miles above the new town, stood on the right bank, on *Sharin bughor* (hillock). Long before Astrakhan existed, in the third century, *Atel* or *Itil*, the ancient capital of the Khozars, stood here. Towards the close of the sixth century, the town of *Balangiar* appears to have been erected at the mouth of the Volga; this in its turn gave place, at the end of the fourteenth century, to the Mongol city of *Tsitracan*, capital of their kingdom. The Tartars called it *Hadji-tarkhan*, or *Adiash-tarkhan*; in Russian MSS. of the thirteenth century it is mentioned as *Hozitarakan*, but was known to the Georgians as *Khozar*. The Venetian envoy Contarini (1476) was the first to describe Astrakhan (or Citracan). He speaks of it as a small town seventy-five miles from the mouth of the Volga, surrounded by a low wall, with a few houses built of bricks, and a trade in spices, which were sent to Venice by way of *Tana* or Azof.

After the fall of Kazan, Yamgurchei, Khan of Astrakhan, voluntarily submitted to Russia, but he soon afterwards broke his oath of fealty, and Ivan sent an army to reduce him to submission. In 1554, Astrakhan was taken, but it again rebelled, and was not finally annexed by Russia till 1557, the year before Jenkinson's visit, when

arriued at New *Astracan*, which this Emperour of *Russia* conquered sixe yeeres past, in the yeere 1552. It is from the *Mosco* vnto *Astracan* sixe hundreth leagues, or there about. The towne of *Astracan* is situated in an Island vpon a hill side, hauing a castle within the same, walled about with earth and timber, neither fayre nor strong, the towne is also walled about with earth: the buildinges and houses (except it be the captaines lodging, and certeine other gentlemens) most base and simple. The Island is most destitute and barren of wood and pasture, and the ground will beare no corne: the ayre is there most infected, by reason (as I suppose) of much fishe, and specially sturgion, by which onely the inhabitantes liue, hauing great scarsitie of flesh and bread. They hang vp their fish in theyr streetes and houses to dry for theyr prouision, which causeth such abundance of flyes to increase there, as the like was neuer seene in any land, to their great plague. And at my being at the sayd *Astracan*, there was a great famine and plague among the people, and specially among the Tartarres called *Nagayans*, who the same time came thither in great numbers to render themselues to the Russes their enemies, and to seeke succour at their hands, their countrey being destroyed, as I said before: but they were but ill interteined or relieued, for there dyed a great number of them for hunger, which lay all the Ilande through in heapes dead, and like to beastes, vnburyed, very pittifull to beholde; many of them were also

it was surrounded by an earthen rampart and palisade; receiving a garrison of Streltsi. Since then its history has been eventful. Fire, sword, and pestilence have more than once ravaged its buildings and decimated its population, and many a bloody scene has been enacted within its walls. For nearly two centuries, however, Astrakhan has passed through more peaceful times. It is worthy of remark that, although Astrakhan was not finally united with Russia till 1557, Ivan took the title of "Tsar of Astrakhan" in all important documents dating from 1552.—Semeonof, art. "Astrakhan"; *Karamsin*, viii, 248; Hakl. Soc., *Travels of Venetians in Persia*, pp. 29, 147, 151.

solde by the Russes, and the rest were banished from the Island. At that time it had bene an easie thing to haue conuerted that wicked Nation to the Christian faith, if the Russes themselues had beene good Christians: but how should they shew compassion vnto other Nations, when they are not mercifull vnto their owne. At my being there I could haue bought many goodly Tartars children, if I would haue had a thousande, of their owne fathers and mothers, to say, a boy or a wench for a loafe of bread worth sixe pence in England, but we had more need of victualles at that time then of any such merchandize. This *Astracan* is the furthest holde that this Emperour of *Russia* hath conquered of the Tartars towardes the *Caspian* sea, which hee keepeth very strong, sending thither euery yeere prouision of men, and victualles, and timber to builde the castle.

There is a certaine trade of merchandize there vsed, but as yet so small and beggerly, that it is not woorth the making mention, and yet there come merchantes thither from diuers places.[1] The chiefest commodities that the

[1] The trade of Astrakhan, which Jenkinson found in almost a moribund condition, had been much larger in earlier times. Besides spices, which went this way to the Adriatic, silk and silken stuffs were imported from Transcaucasia and Persia, sheepskins and woven cloths from Bokhara and Khiva. Salt, obtained from lakes near the Caspian, was among the most valuable of commodities dealt in, being sought for by merchants from Mosco. In later times the Russian Tsars endeavoured to foster the trade of Astrakhan, with but partial success. Alexis Mikhailovitch founded in 1667 a company of Armenian merchants, and built a vessel to protect them from pirates. In Peter the Great's time there were four trading companies, one of which was English, but Catherine II abolished all monopolies, and declared the trade free. Notwithstanding this enlightened policy, the Astrakhan trade, hampered by restrictions in the ports of Persia, did not flourish, and it was only within the present century that it took a fresh start. The annual exports, consisting chiefly of iron and hardware, amounted between 1851 to 1860 to £50,000; the imports, silk, fruits, and cotton, to about £90,000; but Astrakhan's foreign trade is much exceeded by its transactions with its neighbours on either side—

Russes bring thither are redde hides, redde sheepe skinnes, woodden vessels, bridles, and saddles, kniues, and other trifles, with corne, bacon, and other victualles. The Tartars bring thither diuers kindes of wares made of cotten wooll, with diuers kindes of wrought silkes: and they that come out of Persia, namely from *Shamackie*,[1] do bring sowing silke, which is the coursest that they vse in Russeland, Crasko, diuers kindes of pide silkes for girdles, shirts of male, bowes, swoords, and such like things: and some yeeres corne, and wallnuts, but all such thinges in such small quantitie, the merchantes being so beggerly and poore that bring the same, that it is not worth the writing, neither is there any hope of trade in all those parts woorth the following.

This foresaid Island of *Astracan* is in length twelue leagues, and in bredth three, and lieth East and West in the latitude of fortie seuen degrees nine minuts: we tarryed there vntill the sixt day of *August*, and hauing bought and prouided a boate in companye with certaine Tartars and Persians, we laded our goods, and imbarked our selues, and the same day departed I, with the same two Johnsons hauing the whole charge of the Nauigation down the said riuer *Volga*, being very crooked, and full of flats towards the mouth thereof. We entered into the *Caspian* sea the tenth day of August at the Easterly side of the said riuer, being twentie leagues

Transcaucasia and the Volga provinces. To the former, corn is shipped in large quantities from the Governments of Samara, Simbirsk, and Saratof, while these receive in exchange the produce of the Caspian fisheries, which are still continued on an extensive scale. The whole value of the trade of Astrakhan was estimated in 1860 at twenty-five millions of rubles, or about £4,000,000. Another striking feature of Astrakhan are its gardens, producing water melons in enormous quantities. These are shipped in large lighters to the towns on the Upper Volga.—Semeonof, art. "Astrakhan".

[1] The silk of Shemakha (see p. 131) was at one time considered the best in Persia, and its manufacture was the chief occupation of the inhabitants. But the miserable state of the country, owing to wars, interfered with the silk industry, and closed many of the factories.—Semeonof, art. "Shemakha".

from *Astracan* aforesaid, in the latitude of fortie sixe degrees twentie seuen minuts.[1]

Volga hath seuentie mouthes[2] or falles into the sea: and we hauing a large winde, kept the Northeast shoare, and the eleuenth day we sailed seuen leagues Eastnortheast, and came vnto an Island hauing an high hill therein, called *Accurgar*,[3] a good marke in the sea. From thence East ten leagues, we fell with another Island called *Bawhyata*,[4] much higher then the other. Within these two Islands to the Northwards, is a great bay called the Blew sea.[5] From thence we sayled East and by North tenne leagues, and hauing a contrary winde, we came to an anker in a fathom water, and so ridde vntill the fifteenth day, hauing a great storme at Southeast, being a most contrary winde, which we ridde out. Then the winde came to the North, and we weyed, and set our course Southeast, and that day sayled eight leagues.

Thus proceeding forwards, the seuenteenth day we lost sight of land, and the same day sailed thirtie leagues, and the eighteenth day twentie leagues winding East, and fell

[1] The delta of the Volga begins about thirty miles above Astrakhan, where the Buzan, a large arm, leaves the main river on the left side. Two miles and a half above this town, the Balda, another channel, separates from the Volga, and at Astrakhan itself a third arm, the Kutum, diverges. From this point navigation becomes difficult, owing to the numerous channels which intersect the delta in all directions, shallows and sand banks caused by the ever-shifting current.

[2] The mouths of the Volga are variously estimated at between 80 and 200, but they are so continually changing that no correct idea can be formed of their number.—Semeonof, art. "Volga".

[3] Doubtless *Ak-Kurghan* (*i.e.*, white hill). The terminology of the Caspian has completely changed since Russian Cossacks gave new names to islands, bays, and promontories, discarding Tartar appellatives.

[4] On Jenkinson's map, Boghnata.

[5] The *Sinye Mortso* (*i.e.*, little blue sea) of Russian maps, a wide bay to the north-east of the Volga estuary.

with a land called *Baughleata*,[1] being seuentie foure leagues from the mouth of the foresayd *Volga*, in the latitude of fortie sixe degrees fiftie foure minuts, the coast lying neerest East and by South, and West and by North. At the poynt of this land lyeth buryed a holye Prophet, as the Tartars call him, of theyr lawe, where great deuotion is vsed of all such Mahometistes as doe passe that waye.[2] *Baughliata.*

The nineteenth day the winde being West, and we winding Eastsoutheast, we sailed tenne leagues, and passed by a great riuer called *Yake*,[3] which hath his spring in the lande of *Siberia*, nigh vnto the foresayd riuer *Cama*, and runneth through the land of *Nagay*, falling into this *Mare Caspium*. And vp this riuer one dayes iourney is a towne called *Sera-* *Serachike.*

[1] This name appears on Jenkinson's map as Bagthiar, and is probably indicated by Boghata Kultuk (gulf) and Tourjinkoi Boughau, on French map 1:500,000, ten leagues west of the mouth of the Ural. The text speaks of a country, not of any particular point of land.

[2] For several of these graves *cf.* Khanikof's map of the Inner Horde.

[3] The Yaik or Ural rises on the northern slopes of Mount Iremel. one of the highest points in the Ural chain, near the borders of Western Siberia and the Government of Orenburg; a left tributary of the Kama, the Bielaia (white) river, has its sources in the same group of mountains. Jenkinson is therefore so far correct in his hydrography. The Ural is historically an interesting river. On its banks adventurous Cossacks from the Don founded a settlement towards the end of the sixteenth century. Here they served Russia as a frontier guard, and were rewarded by the concession of certain rights and privileges, of which they were very tenacious. Here they grew and multiplied, constantly engaged in fighting remnants of Tartar hordes, who roamed over the vast steppes beyond the border, and extending their raids even as far as Khiva. Here, too, was the scene of Pugachof's revolt, in which Yaik Cossacks, discontented at losing their privileges, joined. In order to wipe out all recollection of these events, Catherine II changed their name, as well as that of the river, from "Yaik" to "Ural." The Ural waters the country of the Bashkirs, and forms the the S.E. limit of the Government of Orenburg. On its right are the Volga plains; on its left, the boundless steppe where the wild Kirghiz pasture their flocks and herds.—*Hist. of Pugachof's Revolt*, Pushkin, part I.

chicke,[1] subiect to the aforesayd *Tartar* prince called *Murse Smille*, which is now in friendshippe with the Emperour of Russia. Heere is no trade of merchandize vsed, for that the people haue no vse of money, and are all men of warre, and pasturers of cattell, and giuen much to theft and murther. Thus being at an anker against this riuer *Yake*, and all our men being on lande, sauing I, who laye sore sicke, and fiue Tartars, whereof one was reputed a holy man, because hee came from *Mecka*, there came vnto vs a boate with thirtie men well armed and appoynted, who boorded vs, and beganne to enter into our barke, and our holy Tartar called *Azy*,[2] perceiuing that, asked them what they would haue, and withall made a prayer: with that these rouers stayed, declaring that they were Gentlemen, banished from theyr countrey, and out of liuing,[3] and came to see if there were any *Russes* or other Christians (which they call *Caphars*) in our barke: to whom this *Azie* most stoutly answered, that there were none, auowing the same by great othes of their lawe, (which lightly they will not breake) whom the rouers beleeued, and

[1] Saraichik ("The Little Palace"), about forty miles up the Ural, was visited in 1338 by Pascal of Vittoria, a Franciscan monk. He went there by water in twelve days from Sarai on the Volga. Saraichik was, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the head quarters of the Nogai Tartars, and Prince Ismael, as may be inferred from the text, had his residence there. The ruins of this town were seen by Pallas in 1769, and bricks of which it was built were used in building the town of Gurief and neighbouring Cossack stations.—*Cathay and the Way Thither*, Hakl. Soc., pp. 234, 287, 288; Semeonof, art. "Saraichikofskaia stanitsa"; *Aralo-Kaspian Exp. Bogdanof*, pt. I, p. 4.

[2] "Azy" is evidently intended for "Hadji", a title given to Muhammedan pilgrims to Mecca.

[3] These "banished gentlemen" were probably usurpers or defeated rivals and enemies of reigning Khans. Having fled for safety to the steppe, they supported themselves and their followers in the best way they could. "Caphars", evidently from the Arabic *Kâfer*, an unbeliever, *i.e.*, in Muhammed. The incident is curious, as Jenkinson and his party were passed off by the Hadji as good Mussulmans.—C.

vpon his wordes departed. And so through the fidelitie of that *Tartar*, I with all my companie and goods were saued, and our men being come on boorde, and the winde faire, wee departed from that place, and winding East and Southeast, that day being the second of August sailed 16. leagues.

The 21. day wee passed ouer a bay of 6. leagues broade,[1] and fell with a *Cape* of land, hauing two Islands at the Southeast part thereof, being a good marke in the sea: and doubling that *Cape* the land trended Northeast, and maketh another bay, into which falleth the great riuer *Yem*,[2] springing out of the land of *Colmacke*. The countrie of *Colmacke*.

The 22. 23. and 24. dayes, we were at an ancre.[3]

The 25. the winde came faire, and we sailed that day 20. leagues, and passed by an Island of low land,[4] and there about are many flats and sands: and to the Northward of

[1] Probably the wide but shallow bay of *Biely* (white) *Ilmen*, east of the mouths of the Ural. Further east, low, flat spits of land follow in succession, running far out to sea, partly below, partly above the surface of the water. In comparing Jenkinson's narrative with modern surveys of the Caspian, it should be remembered that upwards of three centuries have intervened, and that the gradual desiccation which has been going on throughout this time has wrought a great change in the configuration of the northern and north-eastern shallow coasts of this sea.

[2] The estuary of the Emba is in 46° 30′ N. lat. This river is now lost in the sand long before reaching the Caspian. How long ago its mouth was desiccated it is impossible to say, for the oldest fishermen have no traditions of an outfall here into the sea, and a dense growth of reeds now covers its estuary. The Emba rises in 49° N. lat. in the southern offshoots of the Ural range, a country formerly inhabited by Kalmuks, but now comprised in the territory of the Kirghiz of the Lesser Horde, and included for administrative purposes in the Turgai district of the Government of Orenburg.—Semeonof, art. "Emba"; *Russ. Survey of Caspian*, 1875, p. 30.

[3] Off the mouth, or what had been the mouth, of the Emba.

[4] Perhaps *Lebiaji* (Swan), one of the numerous low, sandy islands off the entrance to *Mertvi Kultuk* (*i.e.*, dead gulf), the "great bay" of the text. Near the end of this island the coast has a south-westerly direction, and forms, with *Busatchi* peninsula, *Kaidak* inlet.

this Island there goeth in a great bay, but wee set off from this Island, and winded South to come into deepe water, being much troubled with shoalds and flats, and ranne that course 10. leagues, then East Southeast 20. leagues, and fel with the maine land, being full of copped hils, and passing along the coast 20. leagues, the further we sailed, the higher was the land.

The 27. day we crossed ouer a bay,[1] the Southshoare being the higher land, and fell with a high point of land: and being ouerthwart the *Cape*, there rose such a storme at the East, that we thought verily we should haue perished: this storme continued 3. dayes. From this *Cape* we passed to a port called *Mangoslaue*.[2] The place where wee should haue arriued at the Southermost part of the *Caspian* Sea, is 12. leagues within a bay: but wee being sore tormented, and tossed with this foresaid storme, were driuen vnto another land on the other side the bay, ouerthwart the said *Mangoslaue* being very lowe land, and a place as well for the ill

[1] Probably Koshak Bay, formed by Busatchi and Mangishlak peninsulas. The bay is eighteen miles long and about seven miles wide at its entrance. Its north shore is low, clayey, and flat, being hardly nine feet above the sea, whilst on the south it is bordered by a chain of hills intersected by two or three small ravines and a wide valley. Near the entrance to Koshak Bay, east of the promontory, was formerly the port of Mangishlak.—*Russ. Survey of Caspian*, pp. 35, 37.

[2] "Mangishlak", composed of two words, *Mangu* and *Kishlak*, signifying the village or abode of the Mangyt or Nogai Tartars, is the name of a peninsula on the east coast of the Caspian. The port here was the point of departure for caravans of Russian traders bound for Khiva, and for a long while Fort Novo-Alexandrofsk, erected on this peninsula, served Russia as a foothold in Turkoman territory, and a base for military operations. More recently, as her influence extended further south, other points on the east coast were found more suitable for these purposes, and the fort lost much of its importance. It will be remembered that Lomakin's detachment marched from this place against Khiva in 1873, and the name is still retained as that of a large military district.

commoditie of the hauen, as of those bruite tielde people, where neuer barke nor boate had before arriued, not liked of us.

But yet here we sent certaine of our men to lande to talke with the gouernour and people,[1] as well for our good vsage at their handes, as also for prouision of camels to carry our goods from the saide sea side to a place called *Sellyzure*,[2] being from the place of our landing fiue and twentie dayes iourney. Our messengers returned with comfortable wordes and faire promises of all things.

Wherefore the 3. day of September 1558. wee discharged our barke, and I with my companie were gently intertained of the Prince, and of his people.[3] But before our departure from thence, wee founde them to bee very badde and brutish people, for they ceased not dayly to molest vs, either by fighting, stealing or begging, raysing the prise of horse and camels, and victuals double, that the wont was there to bee, and forced vs to buy the water that wee did drinke: which caused vs to hasten away, and to conclude with them as well for the hier of camels, as for the price of such as wee bought, with other prouision, according to their owne demaunde: So that for euery camels lading being but 400.

[1] Jenkinson does not say who this "people" were, but they may be assumed to have been Turkomans; and the "governor" mentioned in the text must be understood to mean "elder" (*aksakal*), the only persons whose authority is recognised by them.—Vesselofsky's *Hist. Notes on Khiva*, p. 112, note.

[2] See *infra*, p. 69.

[3] Travellers have often spoken of the bad faith and predatory habits of the Turkomans. Major (now General) Abbott, after living among them for several months, was attacked and severely wounded, narrowly escaping with his life. Major Shakespear took an unfavourable view of their character, as did also Muravief. The late Mr. O'Donovan's experiences were better; but it should be remembered, in his case, that he was looked upon as the only man who could help them in their necessities against Russia.—*Herat to Khiva*, by Major James Abbott, vol. i, *passim*; *Muravief's Travels*, Russian edit., p. 34; *The Merv Oasis*, by E. O'Donovan, *passim*.

waight of ours, wee agreed to giue three hides of *Russia*, and foure wodden dishes, and to the Prince or gouernour of the saide people one ninth and two seuenths,[1] Namely, 9. seuerall things, and twise 7. seuerall things: for money they vse none.

And thus being readie, the foureteenth of September wee departed from that place, being a *Carauan* of 1000. camels. And hauing trauailed fiue dayes iourney, wee came to another Princes Dominion, and vpon the way there came vnto vs certaine *Tartars* a horsebacke, being well armed, and seruants vnto the said Prince called *Timor Soltan*,[2] gouernour of the said Countrey of *Mangoslaue*, where we ment to haue arriued and discharged our barke if the great storme aforesaid had not disappointed. These foresaid *Tartars* stayed our *Carauan* in the name of their prince, and opened our wares, and tooke such things as they thought best for their said prince without money, but for such things as they tooke from me, which was a ninth, (after much dissension) I ridde vnto the same Prince, and presented my selfe before him, requesting his fauour, and pasport to trauaile through his countrey, and not to be robbed nor spoiled of his people: which request he graunted me, and intertained me very gently, commanding mee to be well feasted with flesh and mares milke: for bread they vse none, nor other drinke except water: but money he had none to give mee for such things as hee tooke of mee, which might bee of value in *Russe* money, fifteene rubbles, but hee gaue mee his letter, and a horse worth seuen rubbles. And so I departed from him being glad that I was gone: for hee was reported to bee

[1] They gave the prince nine several things and twice seven several things, the numbers nine and seven being considered lucky.—*Vesselofsky*, note, p. 112; cf. *Abulghazi*, p. 228.

[2] Timour Sultan, brother of Hadjim Khan, received as his share, on a division of his father's heritage in 1557, half the town of Khiva and the Kara-Bakaul Turkomans.—*Hist. des Moguls et Tartars*, par Abul Ghazi Khan, Desmaison, p. 256; *Vesselofsky*, note, p. 113.

a very tyrant, and if I had not gone vnto him, I vnderstoode his commaundement was, that I should haue bene robbed and destroyed.

This *Soltan* liued in the fieldes without Castle or towne, and sate at my being with him, in a little rounde house made of reedes couered without with felt, and within with Carpets. There was with him the great Metropolitan[1] of that wilde Countrey, esteemed of the people, as the bishop of *Rome* is in most parts of *Europe*, with diuers other of his chiefe men: the *Soltan* with this Metropolitan, demanded of me many questions, as wel touching our kingdoms, lawes, and Religion, as also the cause of my comming into those parts, with my further pretence. To whom I answered concerning all things, as vnto me seemed best, which they tooke in good part. So hauing leaue I departed and overtooke our *Carauan*, and proceeded on our iourney, and trauailed 20. dayes in the wilderness from the sea side without seeing towne or habitation, carying prouision of victuals with vs for the same time, and were driuen by necessitie to eate one of my camels and a horse for our part, as other did the like, and during the said 20. dayes we found no water, but such as we drewe out of olde deepe wells, being very brackish and salt, and yet sometimes passed two or three dayes without the same. And the 5.[2] day of October ensuing, we came vnto a gulphe of the *Caspian* sea againe, where wee founde the water very fresh and sweete: at this gulphe the customers of the king of *Turkeman* met vs, who tooke custome of euery 25. one, and 7. ninthes[3] for the saide king and his brethren, which being

[1] By "Metropolitan" must be understood the Sheik ul Islam, or some other great dignitary of the Mohammedan world. The title is repeated afterwards in speaking of Bokhara (see p. 83).

[2] Probably a misprint for 3, as they departed on the 14th. (See *infra*.)

[3] An error has crept in here, probably owing to the ignorance of the transcriber of Central Asian manners. "Seven" and "nine" were, as we have remarked (note p. 66), the lucky numbers; the tax, therefore,

receiued they departed, and we remained there a day after to refresh ourselues.

Note that in times past there did fal into this gulfe[1] y^e great riuer *Oxus*, which hath his springs in the mountaines of *Paraponisus* in *India*,[2] and now commeth not so farre, but falleth into another riuer called *Ardocke*, which runneth towards the North, and consumeth himself in the ground, passing vnder ground aboue 1000.[3] miles, and then issueth out againe and falleth into the lake of *Kithay*.

We hauing refreshed ourselues at the foresaide gulfe, departed thence the 4. day of October, and the 7. day arriued at a Castle called *Sellizure*, where the king (called *Azim Can*)[4] remained with 3. other of his brethren, and the 9. day

Sellizure, or Shayzure.

levied in this instance was one in twenty-five, or four per cent., and in addition, as presents for the Sultan and his brethren, seven several things and nine several things.—*Vesselofsky*, note on p. 115.

[1] The early commentators of Jenkinson were sorely puzzled with this "gulf", and decided that it must have been Kara bugaz, to which they were obliged to give a much greater extension eastward than it ever attained. Recent surveys have completely dispelled these erroneous conclusions, in showing that the "fresh-water" gulf reached by Jenkinson on the 14th September was no gulf at all, but Lake Sari-Kamish, at that time united with the Amu daria, and occupying a far more extensive area than at present. Even at this day an occasional overflow from the Oxus finds its way into Lake Sari-Kamish. (See *infra*, p. 74, note.)

[2] Paraponisi montes of Jenkinson's map, Paroponisus of Ptol., Bk. VI, cap. xi, the modern Hindu Kush.—C.

[3] In *Hakluyt*, 1598, f. 329, these figures are corrected to 500. Later on, he writes that the Ardocke flows *out* of the Oxus. (See *infra*, p. 74.)

[4] This individual has been identified with Hadjim Khan (in Russian MSS. his name is spelt Azim Can). Hadji Muhammed Khan, or Hadjim Khan, son of Ogotai, was raised to the throne, or, strictly speaking, to the White Carpet, in 965 of the Hegira (A.D. 1558), at the age of 39, and reigned till 1602. He had five brothers: Mahmud Sultan, Pulad Sultan, Timur Sultan, Alla-Kuli Sultan, and Suleiman Sultan. Hadjim Khan received as his appanage the town of Vezir, while Alla Sultan had Urgendj, Kât, and Hazarasp.—*Vesselofsky*, pp. 110-116; *Abulghazi*, p. 253.

I was commaunded to come before his presence, to whome I deliuered the Emperours letters of *Russia*: and I also gaue him a present of a ninthe, who entertained me very well, and caused mee to eate in his presence as his brethren did, feasting me with flesh of a wilde horse, and mares milke without bread. And the next day sent for mee againe, and asked of me diuers questions, as well touching the affaires of the Emperour of *Russia*, as of our Countrey and lawes, to which I answered as I thought good: so that at my departure he gaue me his letters of safe conduct.

This Castle of *Sellizure*[1] is situated vpon an high hill, where the king called the *Can* lyeth, whose palace is built of earth very basely, and not strong: the people are but poore, and little trade of marchandise among them. The South part of this Castle is lowe lande, but very fruitfull, where growe many good fruites, among which there is one called a *Dynie*[2] of a great bignesse and full of moysture, which the people doe eate after meate in steade of drinke. Also there growes another fruite called a *Carbuse* of the bignesse of a great cucumber, yellow and sweete as sugar: also a certaine corne, called *Iegur*,[3] whose stalke is much like a sugar cane, and as

[1] This "castle", or fortified town, of Sellizure (Shayzure on Jenkinson's map) has been identified with Shahr, or Shehr Vezir (*Shahr* signifying town), now marked by the ruins of Deń Kesken. These ruins stand on the southern skirt of the Ust Urt upland, overlooking an extensive level plain, marked by traces of former irrigation. They are about three days' march from the west shore of Lake Sari-Kamish, and the same distance from Kunia Urgendj. Baron Kaulbars visited them recently.—Kaulbars, in *Zapiski*, J. R. G. S., ix, p. 447.

[2] There is an error here; *dynie* are sweet melons. Arbuze (in Little Russian dialect *carbuze* or *garbuze*) are water melons. Kwarezm was always famed for its melons, which ripen a month earlier than do those of Bokhara. One kind, with green rind and firm, yellow flesh, was formerly prepared by cutting into slices and drying in the sun, and was then exported to India, and even to China.—*Vesselofsky*, p. 117; *Lerch*, p. 41; *De Goeje*, p. 30; Dahl's *Dict.*; Lerch's *Khiva*, p. 38.

[3] *Holcus Sorghum*, known also as *Djugara*, or Sorgho, is one of the most largely cultivated and useful plants of Central Asia, where it

high, and the graine like rice, which groweth at the toppe of the cane like a cluster of grapes: the water that serueth all that Countrey is drawen by diches out of the riuer *Oxus*, vnto the great destruction of the said riuer, for which cause it falleth not into the *Caspian* sea as it hath done in times past, and in short time all that lande is like to be destroyed, and to become a wildernes for want of water, when the riuer of *Oxus* shall faile.[1]

The 14. day of the moneth we departed from this Castle of *Sellizure*, and the 16. of the same we arriued at a citie called *Vrgense*,[2] where we payde custome as well for our owne heads, as for our camels and horse. And hauing there soiourned one moneth, attending the time of our further trauaile, the king of that Countrey called *Aly Soltan*,[3] brother to the fore named *Azym Can*, returned from a towne called *Corozan* within the borders of *Persia*, which hee lately had conquered from the *Persians*, with whome hee and the rest of the kings of *Tartaria* have continuall warres. Before this king also I was commaunded to come, to whome I likewise presented the Emperours letters of

grows to a height of ten feet. When ground into flour, sorgho serves as food for man ; horses eat the grain as readily as barley, cattle feed upon its green stalks, and sheep on its leaves. When dried, the straw makes excellent fuel. A field of sorgho, carefully manured and irrigated, will yield from 50 to 160-fold.—*Kostenko*, pt. III, p. 20.

[1] Jenkinson's words were prophetic. The environs of Vezir have literally become a wilderness, and nothing is left of the town but some ruins.

[2] Jenkinson distinguishes between Urgendj and Sellizure, calling the latter a "castle", the former a city or town, as though it were the more important place of the two ; but Sellizure (*i.e.*, Vezir) was the residence of Hadjim Khan, and therefore the capital, while Urgendj, more centrally situated and larger, might easily have been mistaken for the principal town.—*Vesselofsky*, note, p. 11.

[3] Ali Sultan frequently made raids into Khorassan, the province ; there is no town of this name (*Vesselofsky*, p. 117, note). On some old maps, however, the name appears with reference to a town, and on Jenkinson's, Corassan *parva* and *magna* occur.—C.

Russia, and he intertained me well, and demaunded of me diuers questions, and at my departure gaue me his letters of safe conduct.

This Citie or towne of *Vrgence*[1] standeth in a plaine ground, with walles of earth, by estimation 4. miles about it. The buildings within it are also of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long streete that is couered aboue, which is the place of their market. It hath bene wonne and

[1] Urgendj, now known as Kunia (Old) Urgendj, became the capital of Kwarezm after Vezir was no longer habitable, and long before Khiva rose to be the principal city of the Khanat. Urgendj owed its first foundation to the Arabs, shortly after their invasion of this country. They took Fil, a town on the right bank of the Jihun, or Oxus, mentioned by historians under the name of El Manzura, a name by which it came afterwards to be known. But the river, ever encroaching on its right bank and undermining their town, caused its inhabitants to remove to the opposite bank and build a new town, which they called Urgendj, or Gurgandj. Dimeshaki, an Arab geographer of the fourteenth century, describes it as nothing more than a village at first, but afterwards a town known among Arabs as El-Djordjaniya. Ibn Batuta proceeded thither from Saraichik, accomplishing the distance in thirty days. Down to the middle of the sixteenth century, or a few years antecedent to Jenkinson's visit, Urgendj continued to be a place of importance. A caravan road connected it with the Caspian at Balkhan Bay, the Oxus flowed past its walls, and according to Abulghazi, fields, vineyards, and gardens continued uninterruptedly on either bank as far as the Caspian, into which this river then discharged, the riparian districts being inhabited by Turkomans of the Adakli-Khizir, Ali, and Tivedji tribes. But about 1575 the Amu daria worked a new channel for itself opposite the tower of Khâst, at a place named Kara Uighur Tukai, and flowed towards the fortress of Tuk, debouching into the Aral, called by Abulghazi Sea of Syr, probably at Aibughir Bay. Owing to this change, the neighbourhood of Urgendj became in course of time a wilderness, though for many years after the event recorded took place, and even when Urgendj itself was deserted by its population, crops were sown and harvested in the fruitful tracts, fertilised by the overflow of summer floods, and the Khan with his followers would, at certain seasons, takes up his abode near Urgendj, and superintend harvesting operations. Tuk lay north of Khâst, and north-east of Urgendj, at a distance of a few hours' ride.—*Abulghazi*, p. 221.

lost 4. times within 7. yeeres by ciuill warres,[1] by meanes whereof there are but fewe marchants in it, and they very poore, and in all that towne I could not sell aboue 4. carseis. The chiefest commodities there solde, are such wares as come from *Boghar*, and out of *Persia*, but in most small quantitie not worth the writing. All the land from the *Caspian* sea to this Citie of *Vrgence*, is called the lande of *Turkeman*, and is subiect to the saide *Azim Can*, and his brethren which be 5. in nomber,[2] and one of them hath the name of the chiefe king called *Can*, but he is litle obeyed sauing in his owne Dominion, and where hee dwelleth: for euery one will be king of his owne portion, and one brother seeketh alwayes to destroy another, hauing no natural loue among them, by reason that they are begotten of diuers women,[3] and commonly they are the children of slaues, either Christians or Gentiles, which the father doeth keepe as concubines, and euery *Can* or *Sultan*, hath at the least 4. or 5. wiues, besides yong maydens and boyes, liuing most viciously, and when there are warres betwixt these brethren, (as they are seldome without) hee that is ouercome if hee be not slaine, flieth to the fielde with such companie of men as will followe him, and there liueth in the wildernesse resorting to watering places, and so robbeth and spoyleth as many *Carauans* of Marchants and others as they be able to ouercome, continuing in this sort his wicked life, vntill such time as hee may get power and ayde to inuade some of his brethren againe. From the *Caspian* sea vnto the castle of *Sellizur* aforesaid, and all the Countreis about the said sea, the people liue without towne or habitation in the wilde fieldes, remoouing from one place to another in great companies with their cattle, whereof they

[1] These civil wars were probably fought between Ali Sultan and his brothers.

[2] See *ante*, note, p. 68.

[3] Two sons, Hadjim and Mahmud, were born of one mother, and two, Pulad and Timur, of another.—*Abulghazi*, p. 253.

have great store, as camels, horses, and sheepe both tame and wilde. Their sheepe are of great stature with great buttockes, waying 60. or 80. pound in waight.[1] There are many wilde horses, which the *Tartars* doe many times kill with their haukes, and that in this order.

The haukes are lured to sease vpon the beastes neckes or heads, which with chasing of themselves and sore beating of the haukes are tired: then the hunter folowing his game, doeth slay the horse with his arrowe or sword.[2] In all this lande there groweth no grasse, but a certaine brush or heath whereon the cattell feeding, become very fat.

The *Tartars* neuer ride without their bowe, arrowes,[3] and sword, although it be on hauking, or at any other pleasure, and they are good archers both on horsebacke, and on foote also. These people haue not the vse of golde, siluer, or any other coyne, but when they lacke apparell or other necessaries, they barter their cattell for the same. Bread they haue none, for they neither till nor sow, they be great deuourers of flesh, which they cut in small pieces, and eate it by handfuls most greadily, & especially the horse flesh. Their chiefest drinke is mares milke soured, as I haue said before of the *Nagayans*,[4] and they wilbe drunke with the

[1] Sheep are to this day the chief source of livelihood to the inhabitant of Turkestan; indeed, his existence is mainly dependent upon them. A bad winter, with scarcity of fodder, followed by a late spring, reduces his stock to so low an ebb, that their owner is sensibly impoverished; favourable seasons, on the other hand, with abundance of grass, afford him plenty. Immense flocks of sheep, large herds of horses, and a good many camels, are the chief wealth of the Kirghiz of the present day.

[2] Hawking continues to be a favourite pastime among the Kirghiz in Turkestan. For hunting large game, such as deer, they train the *barkut*, or golden eagle, to seize upon the prey in the manner described in the text.—*Cf.* Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd edit., i, pp. 385, 386.

[3] Bows and arrows, however, have yielded to the superior attractions of the more deadly matchlock gun, and Russian silver pieces are beginning to pass as currency among them.

[4] *Cf.* page 53.

same: they have no riuers nor places of water in this countrey, vntil you come to the foresaid gulfe, distant from the place of our lading 20. dayes iourney, except it be in wels, the water whereof is saltish, & yet distant the one from the other two dayes iourney and more. They eate their meate vpon the ground, sitting with their leggs double vnder them, and so also when they pray. Arte or science they haue none, but liue most idlely, sitting round in great companies in the fields, deuising, and talking most vainely.[1]

The 26. day of Nouember, wee departed from the towne of *Vrgence,* and hauing trauailed by the riuer *Oxus* 100. mile, we passed ouer another great riuer called *Ardocke,* where we paid a certaine petie custome. This riuer *Ardocke*[2] is great,

[1] This description of the Tartars may serve at the present day as a true picture of the manner in which the semi-nomadic tribes peopling the steppes of Central Asia pass their time, except where they have fallen under the immediate influence of Russian masters.

[2] This "Ardock" was long a puzzle to commentators till recent surveys in the Amu daria delta threw new light on the subject, and elucidated the fact that the great and swiftly flowing river crossed by Jenkinson was none other than the Amu daria. Possibly *Ardok* was his rendering of *Taldyk* (straight) or *Talryk*, the local name of its western and oldest arm as it flowed north of Kunia Urgendj into the Aral Sea. Jenkinson's "Oxus", along which he travelled 100 miles, is the *Kunia daria* (old river) or *daria lyk*, joining the Amu daria opposite Sheikh-Abbas-Ali, and representing the Caspian arm of this river, which in his time had ceased to flow continuously into Lake Sari-Kamish. The Aral Sea is conspicuous by its absence both from text and map, evidently proving that our traveller was under the influence of erroneous ideas prevalent in Western Europe on the geography of these countries; for though Ptolemy and his copyists inserted on their maps an *Oxianus lacus* about the place where one would look for the Aral, they gave no relative importance to it, and made all their rivers debouch in the Caspian, while sixteenth century cartographers, such as Wied, completely ignored its existence. (Cf. *Kaulbars*, pp. 446-448; *Herbert Wood*, pp. 150, 236; *Ptolemy*, Bk. VI, chap. xii; and *Septima Asia Tabula*, edit. of 1513; also maps of Marino Sanuto 1320, Martelli 1495, and Wied 1555.)—C.

and very swift, falling out of the foresaid *Oxus*, and passing about 1000. mile to the Northward, it then consumeth it selfe in the ground, and passing vnder the same about 500. mile, issueth out againe and falleth into the lake of *Kitay*, as I haue before declared.[1]

The 7. of December folowing wee arriued at a Castle called *Kait*,[2] subiect to a *Soltan*, called *Saramet Soltan*,[3] who ment to haue robbed all the Christians in the *Carauan*, had it not bene for feare of his brother the king of *Vrgence*, as we were informed by one of his chiefest counsailers, who willed vs to make him a present, which he tooke, and deliuered:

[1] *Ante*, p. 68.

[2] Kath (Cante of Jenkinson's map) stood on the Yarmish canal, probably near the site of the modern Kait, or Ket. It was mentioned by El-Biruni, an Arab writer of the eleventh century, whose birthplace was not far off, and he says it lay immediately on the left bank of the Jihun, or Oxus. An old river channel has been traced north of Kait in a strip of what is now sandy waste, running towards the north-west, south of the little town of Gurlen. This was probably the course of the Oxus in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and here Kath of ancient days must have stood on the right bank of this old river bed, south of Gurlen. At present the Amu daria is about twelve miles distant from Kait, and only approaches its old channel near Gurlen, when it sweeps to the right with that tendency to undermine its right bank which is so noticeable a feature in this river. These particulars are derived from M. Lerch's pamphlet on the history and geography of Khiva. This author himself visited Khiva and studied the subject on the spot. He adds that Timur, in 1372, undertook several campaigns against Kwarezm, marching thither from Samarkand, and reaching the Jihun above Kath, at a place named Se-piye, where he in all probability crossed to the left bank. One of the first places he took was Kath. On his further march thence against Urgendj, mention is made of the Gurlen canal, as though the Amu daria flowed east of Kath and Gurlen as it does now; but this was evidently not its course in Jenkinson's time, two centuries later. Ibn Batuta, who travelled to Urgendj in 1340, about thirty years before Timur's first expedition, passed through Kath, and found it the only town on the road to Bokhara.—*Lerch*, pp. 20-21.

[3] Vesselofsky suggests that perhaps Suleiman Sultan, brother of Hadjim Khan, may be the person here mentioned.—*Vesselofsky*, p. 102.

besides we paide at the saide Castle for custome, of euery camel one red hide of *Russia*, besides petie gifts to his officers.

Thus proceeding in our iourney, the tenth day at night being at rest, and our watche set, there came vnto us foure horsemen, which we tooke as spies, from whome wee tooke their weapons and bound them, and hauing well examined them, they confessed that they had seene the tract of many horsemen, and no footing of camels, and gaue vs to vnderstande, that there were rouers and theeues abroade: for there trauaile fewe people that are true and peaceable in that Countrey, but in companie of *Carauan*, where there be many camels, and horsefeeting newe without camels were to be doubted. Whereupon we consulted & determined amongst our selues, and sent a poste to the saide *Soltan* of *Kayte*, who immediately came himselfe with 300. men, and met these foure suspected men which we sent vnto him, and examined them so straightly, and threatened them in such sort, that they confessed, there was a banished Prince[1] with 40. men 3. dayes iourney forward, who lay in waite to destroy vs, if he could, and that they themselues were of his companie.

The *Soltan* therefore vnderstanding that the theeues were not many, appointed vs 80. men well armed with a Captaine to goe with vs, and conduct vs in our way. And the *Soltan* himselfe returned backe againe, taking the 4. theeues with him. These souldiers trauailed with vs two dayes, consuming much of our victuals. And the 3. day in the morning very earely, they set out before our *Carauan*, and hauing ranged the wildernes for the space of foure houres, they mette vs comming towardes vs, as fast as their horse could runne, and declared that they had found the tract of horses not farre

[1] This prince may have been Burum, third son of Budjugi Khan, and brother of the slain Dost and Isha, concerning whom Abulghazi is silent. He appears to have held Kâth during his brother Dost's Khanship.—*Vesselofsky*, p. 121.

from vs, perceiuing well that wee should meete with enemies, and therefore willed vs to appoint our selues for them, and asked vs what we would giue them to conduct vs further, or els they would returne. To whome we offered as we thought good, but they refused our offer, and would haue more, and so we not agreeing they departed from vs, and went backe to their *Soltane*, who (as wee coniectured) was priuie to the conspiracie. But they being gone, certaine *Tartars* of our companie called holy men, (because they had bene at *Mecha*) caused the whole *Carauan* to stay, and would make their prayers, and deuine howe wee should prosper in our iourney, and whether we should meete with any ill companie or no, to which, our whole *Carauan* did agree, and they tooke certaine sheepe and killed them, and tooke the blade bones[1] of the same, and first sodde them, and then burnt them, and tooke of the blood of the saide sheepe, and mingled it with the powder of the saide bones, and wrote certaine Characters with the saide blood, vsing many other ceremonies and wordes, and by the same deuined and founde, that wee should meete with enemies and theeues (to our great trouble) but should ouercome them, to which sorcerie, I and my companie gave no credite, but we found it true: for within 3. houres after that the souldiers departed from vs, which was the 15. day of December in the morning, we escried farre off diuers horsemen which made towards vs, and we (perceiuing them to be rouers) gathered our selues together, being 40. of vs well appointed, and able to fight, and wee made our

[1] Blade-bones of sheep have a peculiar superstitious significance in Central Asia. Among Kalmuks in Dzungaria (now a Chinese province), the Lamas inscribe texts and prayers on them, and suspend a rope garnished with these curious symbols at the entrance to their encampments. The Kalmuk stops his horse under this festoon, and plucking a few hairs out of his mane, ties them to the rope. In Mongolia these blade-bones are always broken and thrown aside, it being considered unlucky to leave them unbroken.—Prejèvalsky's *Mongolia*, i, 56; see also *Purchas*, iii, 31.

prayers together euery one after his lawe, professing to liue and die one with another, and so prepared our selues. When the theeues were nigh vnto vs, we perceiued them to be in nomber 37. men well armed, and appointed with bowes, arrowes and swords, and the Captaine a prince banished from his Countrey. They willed vs to yeelde our selues, or els to bee slaine, but wee defied them, wherewith they shotte at vs all at once, and wee at them very hotly, and so continued our fight from morning vntill two houres within night, diuers men, horses and camels being wounded and slaine on both partes: and had it not bene for 4. hand gunnes[1] which I and my companie had and vsed, we had bene ouercome and destroyed: for the theeues were better armed, and were also better archers than we; But after wee had slaine diuers of their men and horses with our gunnes, they durst not approche so nigh, which caused them to come to a truce with vs vntill the next morning, which we accepted, and encamped ourselues vpon a hill, and made the fashion of a Castle, walling it about with packes of wares, and layde our horses and camels within the same to saue them from the shotte of arrowes: and the theeues also incamped within an arrowe shotte also of vs, but they were betwixt vs and the water, which was to our great discomfort, because neither we nor our camels had drunke in 2. days before.[2]

Thus keeping good watche, when halfe the night was spent, the Prince of the theeues sent a messenger halfe way vnto vs, requiring to talke with our Captaine in their tongue, the *Carauan Basha,* who answered the messenger, I will not depart from my companie to goe into the halfe way to talke

[1] Arquebusses were the only hand guns known at this time.

[2] This style of fortified camp has often been employed by the Russians in their wars with Central Asiatics, and has stood them in good stead when attacked by overwhelming odds. Jenkinson and his party must, however, have been in a critical situation, cut off as they were from the water-supply.

with thee: but if that thy Prince with all his companie will sweare by our Lawe to keepe the truce, then will I sende a man to talke with thee, or els not. Which the Prince vnderstanding as well himselfe as his companie, swore so lowde that wee might all heare. And then wee sent one of our companie (reputed a holy man) to talke with the same messenger. The message was pronounced aloude in this order, Our Prince demaundeth of the *Carauan Basha*, and of all you that be *Bussarmans*,[1] (that is to say circumcised) not desiring your bloods, that you deliuer into his handes as many *Caphars*, that is, vnbeleeuers (meaning vs the Christians) as are among you with their goods, and in so doing, hee will suffer you to depart with your goods in quietnesse, and to the contrary, you shall be handled with no lesse crueltie then the *Caphars*, if hee ouercome you, as he doubteth not. To the which our *Carauan Basha* answered, that hee had no Christians in his companie, nor other strangers, but two Turkes which were of their Lawe, and although hee had, hee would rather die then deliuer them, and that wee were not afraide of his threatnings, and that should hee knowe when day appeared. And so passing in talke, the theeues (contrary to their othe) carried our holy man away to their Prince, crying with a lowde voyce in token of victorie, *Ollo, ollo.*[2] Wherewith we were much discomforted, fearing that that holy man would betray vs: but hee being cruelly handled and much examined, would not to death confesse any thing which was to vs preiudiciall, neither touching vs,[3] nor yet what men they had slaine and wounded of ours the day before. When the night was spent, in the morning we prepared ourselues to battel againe, which the theeues perceiuing, required to fall to agreement & asked

[1] "Bussarmanni" is merely a variation of "Mussulmanni", in frequent use among the illiterate in Russia.

[2] Allah! Allah!

[3] *I.e.*, Jenkinson and the two Johnsons.

much of vs: And to be briefe, the most part of our companie being loth to go to battel againe, and hauing litle to loose, & safe conduct to passe, we were compelled to agree, & to giue the theeues 20. ninthes (that is to say) 20. times 9. seuerall things, and a camell to carie away the same, which being receiued, the thieues departed into the wildernes to their olde habitation, and we went on our way forward. And

The riuer of Oxus.

that night came to the riuer *Oxus*,[1] where wee refreshed ourselues, hauing bene 3. dayes without water, and drinke, and tarried there all the next day, making merry with our slaine horses and camels, and then departed from that place, & for feare of meeting with the said theeues againe or such like, wee left the high way which went along the saide riuer and passed through a wildernes of sand, and trauailed 4. dayes in the same before we came to water: and then came to a well, the water being very brackish, and we then as before were in neede of water, and of other victuals, being forced to kill our horses and camels to eate.

In this wildernes also we had almost fallen into the handes of theeues: for one night being at rest, there came certaine scoutes, and caried away certaine of our men which lay a little separated from the *Carauan*, wherewith there was a great shoute and cry, and we immediatly laded our camels, and departed, being about midnight and very darke, and droue sore till wee came to the riuer *Oxus* againe,[2] and then we

[1] The text does not state at what point on the Oxus Jenkinson arrived, but it may be assumed to have been about half-way between Khiva and Bokhara, probably near Fort Kavakli, about 120 miles from Bokhara by a road along the left bank of the Amu daria.—*Cf.* Col. Walker's map of Central Asia.

[2] Jenkinson's route, after crossing the Amu daria, lay up the right bank of this river, probably to Utch Uchak, near the ruins of Tunukliu. Here the road to Bokhara bifurcates, one track continuing to follow the river, the other striking off in a north-easterly direction across a frightful sand desert. It was by this latter that Vambéry travelled with a caravan of dervishes, enduring tortures from thirst between

feared nothing, being walled with the said riuer: and whether it was for that we had gotten the water, or for that the same theeues were farre from vs when the scoutes discouered vs, we knowe not, but we escaped that danger.

So vpon the 23. day of December wee arriued at the citie of *Boghar* in the lande of *Bactria*. This *Boghar*[1] is situated

Boghar, a citie of Bactria.

Adam Krilgan and Kala-ata, and it was here that Kaufmann's detachment nearly perished on their celebrated march to Khiva in 1873. It was a choice of evils: by keeping near the river, caravans were almost sure to be attacked by Turkoman robbers, whilst by plunging into the desert they had to encounter dangers arising from want of water, and sand-storms. Jenkinson probably followed the more southern route nearer the Oxus, and entered Bokhara *viâ* Kara-kul, marked on his map.

[1] In saying that Bokhara is situate in the lowest part of the country, our author doubtless refers to its relative position, which appears low; its absolute elevation, however, is, according to Burnes, 1,200 feet above sea level. When Bokhara was built is unknown. Tradition says that its site was formerly occupied by a great number of lakes, and that fishermen, attracted by the abundance of fish, grew rich, and began cultivating the soil. As the population increased, and houses replaced the original huts, a town was formed, and this was Bokhara. According to another account, the foundation of Bokhara is attributed to Afrasiab, the mythical hero of Turan. Its name is probably derived from the Sanskrit "Vihara", a reunion of wise men, a monastery; and it certainly bore the reputation in the Mussulman world of being a place of great learning and sanctity. "In all other parts of the world light descends upon earth, from holy Bokhara it ascends," was a well-known saying of Muhammedans. In earlier times it appears to have been named *Numi*, or *Numij Keut*, but this is uncertain, and in Chinese annals of the seventh century it is mentioned as Bu-huo, or Bu-ho, while in the record of its capture by Jinghiz the name is written Pú-hua, and also Bu-ha-r. All Muhammedan authors agree in stating that Bokhara is one of the most ancient cities in the world. In the beginning of the eighth century it fell into the hands of the Arabs, who converted its inhabitants to Muhammedanism. Bokhara rose to the summit of its glory under the Samanides, who set up their throne here, but with the decline of this dynasty it fell under Turkish rule; Mahmud of Ghazni, Seljuk, and the princes of Kwarezm becoming successively its masters. From the last of these it was taken by Jinghiz in 1220, and burnt to the ground. Fifteen years after its destruction Bokhara rose once more from its ashes, and recovered some

in the lowest part of all the land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with diuers gates into the same: it is deuided into 3. partitions, where of two parts are the kings, and the 3. part is for Marchants and markets, and euery science hath their dwelling and market by themselues. The Citie is very great, and the houses for the most part of earth, but there are also many houses, temples and monuments of stone

of its former prosperity under Okkodai, son of Jinghiz. In 1265 it was visited by the brothers Polo, and we read in the book of Marco Polo: "Quant il orent passé cel desert, si vindrent a une cité qui est appelée Bocara, moult noble et grant" (*Pauthier*, p. 9). Hayton I, King of Armenia, passed through it on his homeward journey (1254), and his cousin and namesake the historian gives a similar account of it, for he speaks of Bokhara and Samarkand as "deux grans et riches citez" (*Pauthier*, p. 69, note 8). From the end of the thirteenth to the middle of the sixteenth centuries, or from the time of Marco Polo to that of Jenkinson, there is a wide gap in early notices of Bokhara, only partially filled by Ibn Batuta, the Moor, and the Spanish envoy, Don Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, to the court of Timur. During the whole of this period the states of Central Asia were torn by civil wars which arose among the descendants of Jinghiz, and destroyed all the germs of returning civilisation in the unhappy Oxus lands. Under the strong rule of Timur, Samarkand, with which were linked the fortunes of Bokhara, again flourished; and his descendants, after they had been driven out of all their possessions south of the Oxus, made Bokhara their home, embellishing it with many fine buildings. From 1400 to 1500 may therefore be considered the period of renaissance in Bokhara. This was put an end to, unhappily, by another period of intestine orders, with invasions of Kirghiz and Kalmuks. It was not till a few years before the visit of our traveller that Abdulla Khan, of the Sheibani dynasty, took possession of the throne and restored peace and prosperity to the "noble" city. With its size and features of interest, modern writers and travellers, from Burnes in 1832 to Schuyler in 1873, have acquainted us. They have spoken of its walls, eight miles in circuit, pierced by eleven gates; of its ark or citadel artificially raised in the centre of the city; of its mosques, colleges, and extensive suburbs. They have praised its gardens, markets, and baths, and described the extent and importance of its trade. Mr. Schuyler says, "you cannot walk the street without seeing that it is really a capital".—See *Meyendorff, passim*; *Vambéry's Hist. of Bokhara, passim*; *Bretschneider*, p. 166; *Burnes*, i, chaps. 9 and 10; ii, 158; *Khanikof*, pp. 79-87; *Schuyler*, ii, 85-108.

sumptuously builded, and gilt, and specially bathstones so artificially built that the like thereof is not in the worlde: the manner where of is too long to rehearse. There is a little Riuer running through the middes of the saide Citie, but the water thereof is most vnholsome, for it breedeth sometimes in men that drinke thereof, and especially in them that be not there borne, a worme of an ell long, which lieth commonly in the legge betwixt the flesh and the skinne, and is pluckt out about the ancle with great art and cunning, the Surgeons being much practised therein, and if shee breake in plucking out, the partie dieth, and euery day she commeth out about an inche, which is rolled vp, and so worketh till shee be all out.[1] And yet it is there forbidden to drinke any other thing then water, & mares milke, and whosoever is found to breake that lawe is whipped and beaten most cruelly through the open markets, and there are officers appointed for the same who haue authoritie to goe into any mans house, to searche if hee haue either *Aquauita*, wine, or brage, and finding the same, doe breake the vessels, spoyle the drinke, and punish the masters of the house most cruelly, yea, and many times if they perceiue, but by the breath of a man that he hath drunke, without further examination hee shall not escape their handes.

There is a Metropolitane[2] in this *Boghar*, who causeth this lawe to be so streightly kept, and he is more obeyed then the King, and will depose the king, and place another at his will

[1] The bad quality of the water has been the subject of general comment. This is led from the Zarafshan, which flows at a distance of three miles from the city by a canal (the Shehr-i-rud) into reservoirs, and is allowed to stagnate for weeks, breeding infusoria, to which the disease alluded to by Jenkinson—the *rishta* or Guinea worm—is attributed.

[2] We have before remarked (*ante*, p. 67) that "Metropolitan", as applied to Muhammedan dignitaries, is an erroneous term. The highest personage in their hierarchy is the Sheikh ul Islam, who presides at the conferences of the Ulemas, and is chief spiritual adviser of the Khan.

and pleasure, as hee did by this king that raigned at our being there, and his predecessour,[1] by the meanes of the saide Metropolitan: for hee betrayed him, and in the night slewe him in his chamber, who was a Prince that loued all Christians well.

This Countrey of *Boghar* was sometime subiect to the *Persians*,[2] and doe now speake the *Persian* tongue, but yet now it is a kingdome of it selfe, and hath most cruel warres continually with the saide *Persians* about their religion, although they be all Mahometists.[3] One occasion of their

[1] Burhan, appanage Khan of Bokhara, is probably the personage alluded to. Burhan was nominated joint ruler of Bokhara with Yar Mahommed in 1550. But having incurred the displeasure of Navruz Khakan of Maverannahr, he was deprived of Bokhara, and obliged to retire to Karakul. In 1557 he took up arms against Abdullah, but was defeated by this Prince, who caused him to be assassinated. The story runs that he was betrayed by the holy hoja Inibareh, perhaps Jenkinson's "Metropolitan", and met his end at the house of one Murza Eke-bi. On the morrow, at dawn, his head was placed on a pike, and sent to Abdullah.—*Howorth*, ii, 727-729; *Vambéry*, p. 284.

[2] During the Khalifat, the country and city of Bokhara formed part of the province of Khorassan, and was subject to Persian Princes to the end of the tenth century, when, upon the fall of the Samanide dynasty, a warlike tribe known as the Kharluks invaded Maverannahr, and turned the tide of invasion in an opposite direction. From this period Northern Persia was constantly ravaged by the Tartars and their allies. But the Persian language, probably used by the Arabs in converting the people of Central Asia to Islam, is to this day spoken in Bokhara by the Tadjiks, a people of Aryan descent.

[3] The religious hatred between Sunnis and Shiahs, the two great sects into which Muhammedans were divided, increased the fury of their animosity. Either party regarded the other as worse than heretics, and their fanaticism led them to commit the most frightful excesses, as when the sacred shrine of Imam Riza was sacked by Abdul Mummin's savage warriors, and all who sought refuge within its sanctuary were indiscriminately slaughtered. The shaving of the upper lip is religiously practised by Sunnis at the present day, the beards and ends of the moustache are left untouched, but the part immediately under the nose must be shaved clean.—See *Schuyler*, ii, 180; *Vambéry*, 286; *Howorth*, ii, 735

warres is, for that the *Persians* will not cut the haire of their vpper lippes, as the *Bogharians* and all other *Tartars* doe, which they accompt great Sinne, and cal them *Caphars*, that is, vnbeleeuers, as they doe the Christians.

The king of *Boghar*[1] hath no great power or riches, his reuenues are but small, and he is most mainteined by the Citie: for he taketh the tenth penie of all things that are there solde, as wel by the craftes men as by the Marchants, to the great impouerishment of the people, whome hee keepeth in great subiection, and when he lacketh money, hee sendeth his officers to the shoppes of the saide Marchants to take their wares to pay his debts, and will haue credite of force, as the like he did to pay mee certaine money that hee owed me for 19. pieces of carsey. Their money is siluer and copper, for golde there is none currant: they haue but one piece of silver, & that is worth 12. pence English, and the copper money are called Pooles,[2] and 120. of them goeth to the value of the said 12. d. and is more common paiment then the siluer, which the king causeth to rise and fall to his most aduantage euery other moneth, and sometimes twise in a moneth, not caring to oppresse his people, for that hee

[1] Abdullah Khan, son of Iskender Khan, son of Janibeg, grandson of Abulkhair, is probably the "King" mentioned. Abdullah was appanage Khan of Bokhara at this time, while his uncle, Pir Mahommed, held the supreme Khanship. Successful in his wars, Abdullah became ruler of all Maverannahr in 1583, upon the death of his father, and left a great reputation behind him.

[2] *Pooles* (Pules). Khanikof says there are forty-four pules in the silver "tenga", worth about sixpence. This would make the pule equivalent to one-eighth of a penny. In his time a gold coin, the "tilla", was also current at Bokhara, and was worth twenty-one tengas, or about half a sovereign of our money. The Russian coins of the sixteenth century were in name almost identical with those of Bokhara. John Hussey tells us that there were "poles and dengas", eighteen of the former being equal to a "poledenga" (*i.e.*, half-denga), equivalent to an English halfpenny of that period. Neither Russians nor Bokharians had any gold coinage.—*Hakluyt*, p. 293; *Khanikof*, p. 114.

looketh not to raigne aboue 2. or 3. yeeres before hee be either slaine or driuen away, to the great destruction of the Countrey and marchants.

The 26. day of the moneth I was commanded to come before the said king, to whom I presented the Emperour of *Russia* his letters, who interteined vs most gently, and caused vs to eate in his presence, and diuers times he sent for me, and deuised with me familiarly in his secret chamber, as well of the power of the Emperour, and the great Turke, as also of our countreis, lawes, and religion, and caused vs to shoote in hand gunnes before him, and did himselfe practise the vse thereof. But after all this great intertainement before my departure he shewed himselfe a very *Tartar*: for he went to the warres owing me money, and sawe mee not paide before his departure;[1] And although indeede hee gaue order for the same, yet was I very ill satisfied, and forced to rebate part, and to take wares as paiment for the rest, contrary to my expectation, but of a begger, better paiment I could not haue, and glad I was so to be paide and dispatched.

But yet I must needes praise and commende this barbarous king, who immediatly after my arriuall at *Boghar*, hauing vnderstoode our trouble with the theeues, sent 100. men well armed, and gaue them great charge not to returne before they had either slaine or taken the saide theeues. Who according to their commission ranged the wildernes in such

[1] Abdullah invaded Khorassan five times, and was on the point of starting on his first expedition against that country when Jenkinson was at Bokhara in 1559. These earlier expeditions were hardly deserving to be called wars, they were rather "alamans", or plundering raids into northern Khorassan, for as long as Tamasp was King of Persia he was strong enough to protect his northern provinces; upon his death, however, in 1576, that country fell into a state of anarchy and confusion, during which the Uzbeks were able to take Herat and devastate northern Persia.—*Vambéry*, p. 284; *Howorth*, pt. II, div. II, 733, *seqq*.

sort, that they met with the said companie of theeues, and slewe part, and part fledde, and foure they tooke and brought vnto the king, and two of them were sore wounded in our skirmish with our gunners: And after the king had sent for me to come to see them, hee caused them all 4. to be hanged at his palace gate, because they were Gentlemen to the example of others. And of such goods as were gotten againe, I had part restored me, and this good iustice I found at his handes.

There is yeerely great resort of Marchants[1] to this Citie of *Boghar*, which trauaile in great *Caruans* from the Countries thereabout adioyning, as *India*, *Persia*, *Balke*, *Russia*, with diuers others, and in times past from *Cathay*, when there was passage, but these Marchants are so beggerly and poore, and bring so little quantitie of wares, lying two or 3. yeeres to sell the same, that there is no hope of any good trade there to be had worthy the following.

The chiefe commodities that are brought thither out of these foresaide Countreys, are these following.

[1] Bokhara owed her commercial prosperity to her central position. Situated at the cross-roads where merchants from Eastern Asia met those from the West, and interchanged the wares of Europe for the produce and merchandise of Asia, Bokhara was a great emporium of trade. It also served as a depot for merchants coming from the South before they crossed the great deserts which intervened between it and the northern countries. Having no industries of any importance, Bokhara depended solely on agriculture as a means of diverting some of this trade for her own population, whose wants, however, were not large. Hence the small extent of her local commerce, and the unfavourable impression it produced on our traveller. The unsettled state of the country and insecurity of the roads must also doubtless have diminished the traffic, and entirely stopped that with China. That this had been great, may be gathered from incidental notices of earlier travellers—Marco Polo, Pegolotti, and John de Marignolli. But wars and fresh invasions diverted much of the trade into other channels, and we find the caravans taking a more northerly route to Cathay *viâ* Otrar, Tashkend, and the line of the Syr.

The *Indians*[1] doe bring fine whites, which the *Tartars* doe roll about their heads, and all other kinds of whites, which serue for apparell made of cotton wooll and crasko,[3] but golde, siluer, pretious stones, and spices they bring none. I enquired and perceiued that all such trade passeth to the Ocean Sea, and the vaines where all such things are gotten, are in the subiection of the *Portingals*.[4] The *Indians* carie from *Boghar* againe, wrought silkes,[5] redde hides,[6] slaues and horses, with such like, but of carseis and other clothe, they make litle accompt. I offered to barter with Marchants of those Countreis, which came from the furthest parts of *India*, euen from the Countrey of *Bengala*, & the Riuer *Ganges*, to give them carseis for their commodities, but they would not barter for such commoditie as cloth.

The *Persians*[7] doe bring thither *Craska*, wollen cloth,

[1] Indian trade reached Bokhara *viâ* Meshed and Northern Khorassan. In Jenkinson's day, probably only some of the commodities imported from India in modern times were brought to Bokhara. The fine textiles mentioned by him have, however, continued to the present day to be supplied from that country, whilst coarser cottons and linens are now almost exclusively of Russian manufacture.—*Khanikof*, pp. 111-179; *Schuyler*, ii, 95.

[2] *I.e.*, Cambrics, muslins.

[3] Crasko (Crash, from the Latin *Crassus*), coarse linen.

[4] The Portuguese were at this time masters of the coasts of India.

[5] Bokhara silks have always held a high place in the commerce of Central Asia. The silk industry, originally introduced by the Chinese, and revived by Shah Murad Khan in 1785, after the capture of Merv, is estimated at four and a half millions of pounds, Bokhara alone supplying one and a half millions. The dyers are mostly Jews, who also trade in silk yarn.—*Meyendorff*, p. 219; *Schuyler*, i, 191.

[6] The red hides came from Russia, always celebrated for her leather manufacture. The slaves were principally Persians captured in war, and the horses were the Argamaks referred to below.

[7] The Persian trade with Bokhara came mostly *via* Meshed and Herat. Khanikof says, in 1840, four caravans annually entered Bokhara from Meshed, the merchandise dealt in being chiefly cotton and silk stuffs, shawls, carpets, and turquoises. From Bokhara were

linnen clothe, diuers kindes of wrought pide silkes, Argomacks,[1] with such like, and doe carrie from thence redde hides with other *Russe* wares, and slaues[2] which are of diuers Countreis, but cloth they will buy none, for that they bring thither themselues, and is brought vnto them as I haue enquired from *Aleppo* in *Syria*, and the parts of *Turkie*. The *Russes*[3] doe carrie vnto *Boghar*, redde hides, sheepe-

exported to Persia the Kara-Kul lambskins for the peculiar, high conical hats commonly worn by Persians, raw cotton, etc. Persia received manufactured goods from the Levant, and would therefore require none from Bokhara.

[1] The Argamak or Turkoman horse, crossed with Arab stock, has always been famous in Central Asia. Horses of this breed were sent as presents to Russian Tzars and Chinese Emperors. Herberstein mentions them in Mosco, and they always formed part of the tribute to China. They are tall, handsome animals, with long neck, fine legs, and noble carriage. Among their defects are their narrow chest and scanty mane and tail, besides their delicacy and liability to sore backs, rendering them unserviceable for long marches over rough country. Their speed and endurance, however, are highly praised.—*Meyendorff*, p. 209 ; *Khanikof*, p. 155 ; *Schuyler*, i, 129, 153, 338.

[2] The slave market in Bokhara was the largest in Central Asia, and has continued till very recent times. It was supplied chiefly by captives made in wars with Persia, and by Turkoman raids into this country. Afghans, a few Russians, and people of other nationalities, were among the unfortunate victims of this traffic. Every wealthy Bokharian owned slaves and cultivated his land with them. In Meyendorf's time, 1820, the price of a strong man was from 640 to 800 francs, but an artisan fetched double this price. Women, unless they were young and beautiful, had a lower market value. Their lot was a very unhappy one, for they were often treated with great cruelty by their masters.—*Meyendorff*, pp. 178, 285, 286.

[3] The Russian trade with Bokhara, from the length of time it has existed, as well as from its value, is more important than any other. Bokhara cotton is largely consumed by Russian manufactories, while Russian prints and wares supply the wants of the inhabitants of this and adjacent cities of Central Asia, besides being carried through Bokhara to Afghanistan and the Indian frontier. As early as the eighth century a trade route from India to the Baltic is said to have passed through Bokhara, and the Arabs made this city their *entrepot*

skinnes, wollen cloth of diuers sorts, wodden vessels, bridles, saddles, with such like, and doe carrie away from thence, diuers kindes of wares made of cotton woll, diuers kindes of silkes, *Crasca*, with other things, but there is but small vtterance. From the Countreis of *Cathay* is brought thither in time of peace, and when the way is open, muske, rubarbe, satton, damaske, with diuers other things: at my being at *Boghare*, there came *Carauans* out of all these foresaid Countreis, except from *Cathay*, and the cause why there came none from thence, was the great warres that had dured 3. yeeres before my comming thither, and yet dured betwixt 2. great Countreis and cities of *Tartars* that are directly in the way betwixt the said *Boghar* and the said *Cathay*, and certaine barbarous fielde people, as well Gentiles as *Mahometists* bordering to the saide Cities. The cities are called *Taskent*[1] and *Caskayre*,[2] and the people that warre against *Taskent* are called *Cassaks*[3] of the law of *Mahomet*, and they

in their commercial dealings with the Khozars. Merchants from Bokhara visited Tara, Tomsk, and Tobolsk before Yermak conquered Siberia, and were seen in Mosco in the fifteenth century. The trade route in Pegolotti's time (14th century) from Tana (Azof) to Peking passed through Astrakhan, Sarai, Saraichik, Urgendj, Bokhara, Samarkand, and Otrar. That the Russian grand dukes attached importance to the cultivation of trading relations with these Central Asian Khanats, is evident from the negotiations opened by Vassili Ivannovitch with the famous Baber, and from the interest taken by his son and successor in Jenkinson's mission. Those interested in the present state and future prospects of the Bokhara trade would do well to consult M. Petrofsky's notes in *Schuyler*.— See also *Meyendorff*, pp. 227-252; *Khanikof*, pp. 165-172.

[1] Tashkend.

[2] Kashgar, the name of this city, was also applied to the country as it is at this day—Kashgaria, or Eastern Turkestan.

[3] *Cassaks* (Kazzaks), improperly called "Kirghiz", form the greater part of the semi-nomadic population of Central Asia at the present day. They are first heard of under the name of "Uzbek Kazzaks" about the middle of the fifteenth century, when they joined the fortunes of the descendants of Jinghiz, and took part in the wars

which warre with the said countrey of *Caskayre*, are called Kings,[1] Gentiles & idolaters. These 2. barbarous nations are of great force, liuing in the fieldes without house or towne, & haue almost subdued the foresaide cities, & so stopped vp the way, that it is impossible for any *Carauan* to pass vnspoiled, so that 3. yeeres before our being there, no *Carauan* had gone, or vsed trade betwixt the Countreis of

which ensued between these princes and the successors of Abulkhair of the Sheibani dynasty. Their numbers rapidly increasing, the Kazzaks became a power in Central Asia. Baber says of their Khan Kasim, that he kept the horde in better order than any other Khan, and that his army numbered nearly 300,000 men. They were defeated by the Nogais, but recovered their prosperity under Ak (Hakk) Nazar Khan, who subdued Mogolistan or Kashgaria, and harassed Turkestan. About the middle of the sixteenth century they occupied both banks of the Talas, took the towns of Turkestan (Hazret) and Sabran, and threatened Bokhara. Danilo Gubin, the Russian Envoy, reported in 1535 that the Kazzaks had become very powerful, and had taken Tashkend. The name "Kazzak" meant "freebooter", "free lance", or "marauder".—*Howorth*, pt. II, pp. 627-634; *V. Zernof*, pt. II, p. 330.

[1] Probably a misprint for Kirghis (see map). But the people referred to were the Kalmuks, whose Buddhism would account for their being called idolaters. Their powerful empire of Dzungaria, once the heritage of Jagatai, lay to the north of Kashgaria, occupying very nearly the same extent of territory as that now comprised in the Chinese province of Ili or Kuldja. The Kalmuks or Dzungars were very frequently summoned to assist the rival princes of Kashgar in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Upon the death of Sultan Sayid of Kashgar, the most remarkable of the Mongol Khans descended from Toghluk Timur, in 1534 his eldest son, Rashid, seized the capital and brought all the country under one united government. But, on his death, owing to dissensions among his sons, the several States comprising it fell asunder. The disturbed state of Kashgaria consequent on these contentions, and the religious wars of the Hojas, who were divided into two sects, interfered greatly with trade, and threw it into other channels. In 1678 the Dzungars, who then formed a powerful confederacy under their Khan Galdan, took the city of Kashgar, and ruled the country for seventy-eight years, till they were overthrown by the Chinese.—Bellew, *Kashmir and Kashgar*, p. 25; Kuropatkine, *Kashgaria*, 83-86.

Cathay, and *Boghare*, & when the way is cleare, it is 9. moneths iourney.[1]

To speake of the said Countrey of *Cathay*, and of such newes as I haue heard therof, I haue thought it best to reserue it to our meeting. I hauing made my solace at *Boghar*, in the Winter time, and hauing learned by much inquisition, the trade thereof, as also of all the other Countries thereto adioyning, and the time of the yeere being come, for all Carauans to depart, and also the king being gone to the warres, and newes came, that he was fled, and I aduertised by the Metropolitan himselfe, that I should depart, because the Towne was like to be besieged: I thought it good and meete, to take my iourney some way, and determined to haue gone from thence into *Persia*, and to haue seene the trade of that Countrey, although I had enformed my selfe sufficiently thereof, as well at *Astracan*, as at *Boghar*: and perceaued well the trades, not to be much vnlike the trades of *Tartaria*: but when I should haue taken my iourney that way, it was let by diuers occasions: the one was, the great warres[2] that did newly begin betwixt the *Sophie*, and the

[1] The following distances, in days' journey, are given by Pegolotti of the trade route to Peking in his day :—

From	*Organci* (Urgendj)	to	*Oltrarre* (Otrar)	35 to 40	days
„	*Oltrarre*	„	*Armalec* (Almalik)	„ 45	„
„	*Armalec*	„	*Camexu* (Kanchu)	„ 70	„
„	*Camexu*	„	*Cassai* (*Kingszi*, *hod.* Hanchau-fu)	„ 45	„
„	*Cassai*	„	*Cambalu* (*Khanbalik*, *hod.* Peking)	„ 40	„
				230	„

or about seven months and a half. This leaves out Bokhara, and allows nothing for halts on the road, for the boat journey down the Han river to its confluence with the Yangtse Kiang at Hanchau-fu, or for incidental delays on so long a journey. Jenkinson therefore did not over-estimate the distance from Bokhara to Cathay, *i.e.*, Peking, at nine months.—*Cathay*, p. 288.

[2] *I.e.*; Abdullah's expeditions against Khorassan (*ante*, p. 86).

kings of *Tartaria*, whereby the waies they were destroied: and there was a Carrauan destroyed with rouers, and theeues, which came out of *India*, and *Persia*, by safe conduct: and about ten daies iourney from *Boghar*, they were robbed, and a great part slaine. Also the Metropolitane of *Boghar*, who is greater then the king,[1] tooke the Emperours letters of *Russia* from me, without which I should haue bene taken slaue in euery place: also all such wares as I had receaued in barter for cloth, and as I tooke perforce of the king, and other his nobles, in paiment of monie due vnto me, were not vendible in *Persia:* for which causes, and diuers others, I was constrained to come backe againe to *Mare Caspium*, the same way I went: so that the eight of March, 1559, we departed out of the said Citie of *Boghar*, being a Carauan of 600. Camels, and if we had not departed when we did, I and my companie had bene in danger to haue lost life and goods. For ten daies after our departure, the king of *Samarcand* came with an armie, & besieged the said Citie of *Boghar*,[2] the king being absent, and gone to the warres against another prince, his kinsman, as the like chanceth in those Countries, once in two or three yeeres. For it is maruell, if a king raigne there aboue three or foure yeeres, to the great destruction of the Countrey, and marchants.

The 25. of March, we came to the foresaid towne of

[1] The clergy of Bokhara were all-powerful at this time, and exercised their authority in a way they would not dare in later times, when Muhammedanism lost much of its influence in Central Asia.

[2] The King of Samarkand here referred to must have been one of the sons of Navruz Ahmed Khan, otherwise known as Birak or Borrak, who caused himself to be proclaimed supreme Khan of Maverannahr upon the death of Abdullatif, but was obliged to fight his rivals, the sons of Janibeg. Navruz was Khan of Samarkand when Sidi Ali visited that city in 1554, and died in 1556. His son, Baba Sultan, probably succeeded to his father's rights, and attempted to overthrow the power of Abdullah, but was defeated.—*Howorth*, pt. II, div. II, 726 *seqq*.

Vrgence. *Vrgence*,[1] and escaped the danger of 400. rouers, which lay in waite for vs backe againe, being the most of them of kindred to that companie of theeues, which we met with going foorth, as we perceaued by foure spies, which were taken. There were in my companie, and committed to my charge, two Ambassadours, the one from the king of *Boghar*, the other from the king of *Balke*, and were sent vnto the Emperour of *Russia:* and after hauing taried at *Vrgence*, and the Castle of *Zellysure*,[2] eight daies for the assembling, and making ready of our Carauan: the second of Aprill we departed from thence, hauing foure more Ambassadors in our company, sent from the king of *Vrgence*, and other Soltans, his brethren, vnto the Emperour of *Russia*, with answere of such letters as I brought them: and the same Ambassadors were also committed vnto my charge, by the said kings, and princes: to whome I promised most faithfully, and swore by our lawe, that they should be well vsed in *Russland*, and suffered to depart from thence againe in safetie, according as the Emperour had written also in his letters: for they somwhat doubted, because there had none gone out of *Tartaria* into *Russia*, of long time before.[3]

The 23. of Aprill, we arriued at the *Mare Caspium* againe, where we found our barke which we came in, but neither

[1] *Ante*, p. 70. [2] *Ante*, p. 69.

[3] Here Jenkinson seems to be in error, for Ambassadors came to Russia from Khiva in 1557, and in October 1558. On the last-mentioned occasion, the Laurentian MS. (v, 267-8) gives the name of the envoy, Tenish Azi, though it may be that the annalist confounded this embassy with that accompanying Jenkinson in 1559. In any case, after the fall of Kazan and Astrakhan, it is recorded that the Tsars of Khiva and Bokhara sent distinguished persons to Mosco with presents, in order to gain the good-will of Ivan, and obtain privileges of trading with Russia. As a result, perhaps, of Jenkinson's travels, embassies arrived in Russia from Central Asia in 1563, 1566, and 1583, from Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarkand, their object being chiefly to promote commercial intercourse, in which they appear to have succeeded.—*Vesselofsky*, pp. 122, 123, note ; *Karamsin*, viii, 252.

anker, cable, cocke[1] nor saile: neuertheless we brought hempe with vs, and spunne a cable ourselues, with the rest of our tackling, and made vs a saile of cloth of cotton wooll and rigged our barke, as well as we could, but boate or anker we had none. In the meane time, being deuising to make an anker of wood of a cart wheele, there arriued a barke, which came from *Astracan*, with *Tartars*, and *Russes*, which had two ankers, with whom I agreed for the one: and thus being in a readines, we set saile, and departed, I, and the two *Iohnsons* being Master and Marriners our selues, hauing in our barke the said sixe Ambassadors, and 25. Russes, which had been slaues a long time in *Tartaria*,[2] nor euer had before my comming, libertie, or meanes to gette home, and these slaues serued to rowe when neede was. Thus sailing sometimes along the coast, and sometimes out of sight of land, the 13. day of Maye, hauing a contrarie winde, we came to an anker, being three leagues from the shoare, & there rose a sore storme, which continued 44. houres, and our cable being of our owne spinning, brake, and lost our anker, and being off a lee shoare, and hauing no boate to helpe vs, we hoised our saile, and bare roomer with the said shoare, looking for present death: but as God prouided for vs, we ranne into a

[1] "Cocke", *i.e.*, a cock-boat. *Cf.* Shakspere—

"... yon tall anchoring bark,
Diminish'd to her *cock;* her cock a buoy
Almost too small for sight ..."

King Lear, iv, sc. 6.—C.

[2] This is the first successful attempt on record of the rescue of Russian slaves in Central Asia. In the present century, Captain (now General) James Abbott undertook to negotiate between the Khan of Khiva and General Perofsky for an exchange of prisoners, while the late Colonel Richmond Shakespeare effected the release of a large number of these unfortunate captives at Khiva, and led them safely back to Russia (see Abbott's *Herat to Khiva*, vol. i, *passim*). Many Russian slaves intermarried with Kirghiz women, and settled on the outskirts of towns, where their descendants are known as Chahar-Kazzaks.

creeke full of oze and so saued our selues with our barke, we liued in great discomfort for a time. For although we should haue escaped with our liues the danger of the sea, yet if our barke had perished, we knew we should haue bene, either destroied, or taken slaues by the people of that Countrey,[1] who liue wildly in the field, like beastes, without house or habitation. Thus when the storme was seased, we went out of the creeke again: and hauing sette the lande with our Compasse, and taken certaine markes of the same, during the time of the tempest, whilest we ridde at our anker, wee went directly to the place where wee ridde, with our barke againe, and founde our anker which wee lost: whereat the *Tartars* much maruelled, howe wee did it. While wee were in the creeke, wee made an anker of woode of Cart wheeles, which wee had in our barke, which we threwe away, when wee had founde our yron anker againe. Within two daies after, there arose another great storme, at the Northeast, and we lay a trie, being driuen farre into the sea, and much adoe to keepe our barke from sinking, the billowe was so great:[2] but at the last, hauing faire weather, wee tooke the Sunne, and knowing howe the lande laye from vs, wee fell with the Riuer *Yake*, according to our desire, whereof the *Tartars* were very glad, fearing that wee shoulde haue bene driuen to the coast of *Persia*, whose people were vnto them great enemies.[3]

[1] *I.e.*, Turkomans, *ante*, p. 65.

[2] Storms are not of common occurrence on the Caspian, and the dangers of navigation arose from the unseaworthy craft in use in those days, and from shallows. Persons familiar with the Caspian cannot but agree with Horace:

> "Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos
> Manant in agros; aut mare Caspium
> Vexant inæquales procellæ
> Usque." Book II, Ode ix.

[3] The Persians and Uzbek Tartars were continually at war in the sixteenth century, their enmity being embittered by religious differences.

Note, that during the time of our nauigation, wee sette vppe the redde crosse of *S. George*, in our flagges, for honour of the Christians, which I suppose was neuer seene in the *Caspian* sea before.[1] We passed in this voyage diuers fortunes, notwithstanding the 28. of Maye, wee arriued in safetie at *Astracan*, and there remained till the tenth of June following, as well to prepare vs small boates to goe vp against the streame of *Volga*, with our goods, as also for the companie of the Ambassadors of *Tartarie*, committed vnto me, to be brought to the presence of the Emperour of *Russia*.

The English flagge in the Caspian sea.

This *Caspian* sea[2] (to say some thing of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in bredth 150. without any issue to other seas, to the East parte whereof, ioyneth the great desert Countrey of the *Tartars*, called *Turkemen*: to the West, the Countreyes of the *Chyrcasses*,[3] the mountaines of *Caucasus*, and the *Mare Euxinum*, which is from the saide *Caspian* sea a hundred leagues. To the North is the riuer *Volga*, and the land of *Nagay*,[4] and to the South part, ioyne the Countries of *Media*,[5] and *Persia*. This sea is fresh water

[1] From the marginal note in *Hakluyt*, Jenkinson meant the English flag, though he was doubtless aware of the fact that Russia had adopted the insignia of St. George from the Greeks, who represented this saint clad in armour. (See *Herberstein*, frontispiece, and vol. ii, 139.)

[2] The Caspian Sea is 750 miles long from north to south, and 350 wide in the broadest part from east to west. Jenkinson, therefore, understates its length by 150 miles, and over-estimates its breadth by 100 miles. In other respects his description of this sea is accurate, even to the conjectural underground outflow, which may account for the periodical changes in its level observed by those who have studied the subject locally, and compared the reports of travellers, from Olearius and Hanway to Lerch and Reineggs. For earlier notions of the Caspian, see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i, 327, and note.

[3] Cherkess, a general name for the mountaineers of the Caucasus.

[4] *I.e.*, the country round Astrakhan, east and west of the Volga delta. This was inhabited by Manghit or Nogai Tartars.

[5] Media was the country now comprised in the north-western part of Persia, with which it was united under the Sassanian dynasty. It

in many places, and in other places as salt as our great Ocean. It hath many goodly riuers falling into it, and it auoideth not it selfe, except it be vnder ground. The notable riuers that fall into it, are first the great riuer of *Volga*, called in the *Tartar* tongue *Edell*,[1] which springeth out of a lake in a marrish or plaine ground, not farre from the Citie of *Nouogrode*, in *Russia*, and it is from that springe, to the sea, aboue two thousand English miles. It hath diuers other goodly riuers falling into it, as out of *Sebaria*,[2] *Yaick*,[3] and *Yeim*:[4] Also out of the mountaines of *Caucasus*, the riuers of *Cyrus*,[5] and *Arash*,[6] and diuers others.

As touching the trade of *Shamakye*[7] in *Media*, and *Tebris*, with other townes in *Persia*, I haue enquired, and doe well vnderstande, that it is euen like to the trades of *Tartaria*, that is little vtterance, and small profite: and I haue bene aduertised that the chiefe trade of *Persia* is into *Syria*, and so transported into the Leuant seas. The fewe shippes vpon the *Caspian* seas, the want of Marte and port Townes, the pouertie of the people, and the ice, maketh that trade naught.

At *Astracan*, there were Marchants of *Shamakye*, with whome I offered to barter, and to giue them kersies for their

included Raga, or Rey, now marked by some ruins east of Teheran, and the famous Erbatana, now Hamadan. The Media of Atropates, commander of the Median contingent at the battle of Arbela, included the basin of Lake Urumiyeh, as well as the valleys of the Araxes, Sefid Rud, and low countries of Talish and Ghilan, on the shores of the Caspian, thus nearly corresponding with the modern Persian province of Azerbaijan.—Ritter's *Asia*, Iran. Russ. edit., pp. 101, 137; *Herodotus*, i, 595.

[1] Itil, *i.e.*, river, was the old name for the Volga. This river has its source in the Ostashkof district of the Government of Tver, in 57° 10′ N. lat., in moss bogs crossed by lakes at an elevation of 840 feet. Its length is reckoned at 2320 miles.—Semeonof, art. "Volga".

[2] Siberia, so named after Sibir, a town in the Government of Tobolsk.

[3] Yaik, *ante*, p. 61.

[4] Emba, *ante*, p. 63.

[5] Kur.

[6] Araxes.

[7] Shemakha, *ante*, p. 59.

wares, but they would not, saying, they had them as good cheape in their Countrey, as I offered them, which was sixe rubbles for a kersie, that I asked: and while I was at *Boghar*, there were there brought thither out of *Persia*, cloth, and diuers commodities of our Countreies, which were solde as good cheape as I might sell ours.

The tenth daye of June, wee departed from *Astracan*, towardes the *Musko*, hauing a hundred Gunners in our companie, at the Emperours charges, for the safe conduct of the *Tartarre* Ambassadors, and me. And the eight and twentieth daye of July following, we arriued at the Citie of *Cazan*, hauing beene vppon the waye from *Astracan* thither, sixe weekes, and more, without any refreshing of victuals: for in all that waye there is no habitation.

The seuenth of August following, we departed from *Cazan* and transported our goods by water, as farre as the Citie of *Morons*,[1] and then by land: so that the second of September, we arriued at the Citie of *Musko*, and the fourth day I came before the Emperours Maiestie, kissed his hand, and presented him a white Cowes taile[2] of *Cathay*, and a drumme of *Tartaria*, which he well accepted. Also I brought before him all the Ambassadors that were committed to my charge, with all the *Russe* slaues: and that day I dined in his Maiesties presence and at dinner, his Grace sent me meate by a Duke, & asked me diuers questions, touching the lands, & Countreis where I had bene. And thus I remained at the *Musko* about your affaires, vntill the 17. day of Februarie, that your wares were sent downe: & then hauing licence of the Emperours Maiesty to depart, the 21. day I came to your house at *Vologhda*, and there remained vntill the breaking vp of the yeere,[3] and then hauing seene all your goods laden into your boates, I departed with the same, and arriued

His arriual at Mosco the 2. of September.

[1] Murom, *ante*, p. 44.

[2] A yak's tail.

[3] In other words, the opening of navigation is what Jenkinson waited for at Vologhda.

withall in safetie at *Colmogro*, the 9. of May, 1560. And here I cease for this time, intreating you to beare with this my large discourse, which by reason of the varietie of matter I could make no shorter, and I beseech God to prosper all your attempts.

The latitudes of certaine principall places in Russia, and other Regions.[1]

	Deg.	*Min.*
Mosco, in	55	10
Nouo-grod, the great . . .	58	26
Nouo-grod, the lesse . . .	56	33
Colmogro	64	10
Vologda	59	11
Cazan	55	33
Oweke	51	40
Astracan	47	9
At the entrance into the *Caspian* sea .	46	27
Manguslaue, beyond the *Caspian* sea .	45	00
Vrgence in *Tartarye*, 20. daies iourney from the *Caspian* sea .	42	18
Boghar, a Citie in *Tartarie*, 20. daies iourney from *Vrgence* .	39	10

[1] These latitudes and notes are inserted by Hakluyt in the 1599 edition in the above order; modern authorities as below:—

	Latitudes.		*Authority.*
Mosco {northern extremity .	55°	48′	Semeonof.
Mosco {southern do. .	55	42	
Novgorod, the Great . . .	58	31	do.
Nijny Novgorod . . .	56	20	do.
Khomogori	64	13	do.
Vologhda	58	15	do.
Kazan	55	48	do.
Uvek, or Ukek (Ucaca) . .	51	23	Yule.
Astrakhan	46	4	Semeonof.
Mangishlak peninsula Northern extremity, Cape Tiuk-Karagan	43	33	Struve.
Old Urgendj	42	32	Keith Johnston.
Bokhara (Ameer's palace) . .	39	46 45″	Struve.

Certaine notes gathered by Richard Iohnson (which was at Boghar with Master Anthony Ienkinson) of the reports of Russes and other straungers, of the wayes of Russia to Cathaya and of diuers and straunge people.[1]

The first note giuen by one named Sarnichoke, a Tartarian subiect to the Prince of Bogarskie (Bokharians), which are also Tartars bordering vpon Kizilbash or Persia, declaring the way from Astracan, being the furthest part of Russia, to Cathaya as followeth.

First from *Astracan* to *Serachicke* by land, trauailing at leasure as merchants vse with wares is 10. dayes iourney.

From *Serachike* to a towne named *Vrgenshe*,[2] 15. dayes. Or Vrgence.

From *Vrgenshe* to *Bogarskie*,[3] 15. dayes.

From *Bogharskie* to *Cashar*,[4] 30. dayes.

From *Cashar* to *Cathaya*, 30. dayes iourney.

By the same partie a note of another way more sure to trauell, as he reporteth.[5]

From *Astracan* to *Turkemen* by the *Caspian* sea, 10. dayes with barkes.

From *Turkemen* by land specially with camels, bearing the weight of 15. poodes for their common burthens, is 10. dayes to *Vrgenshe.*

[1] *Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 387-389.

[2] The journey from Seraichik (*ante*, p. 62) to Urgendj, according to Pegolotti, took twenty days in camel waggons. Ibn Batuta makes it thirty days' journey.

[3] Bokhara, *ante*, p. 81. [4] Kashgar.

[5] This second itinerary by the same author allows only ten days for the voyage from Astrakhan to Turkomania (presumably Mangishlak peninsula, or Tiuk-Karagan bay, a favourite anchorage on this coast, and starting-place of caravans). Jenkinson took twenty-eight days on the voyage ; and Abbott, in 1840, was ten days sailing from Fort Novo-Alexandrofsk to the mouth of the Ural. From the Caspian to Urgendj was a journey of twenty to twenty-five days for laden camels ; not ten, as the report has it.

From *Vrgenshe* to *Bogharskie*, 15. dayes.

Note.—At this citie of *Boghar* is the marte or meeting place betweene the Turkes and nations of those partes and the Cathaians.

Also the toll there is the 40. part to be paid for merchandizes or goods.

From thence to *Cashar* or *Caskar* is one moneths iourney, and from *Cashar* or *Caskar* (being the frontier of the great *Can*, hauing many townes and fortes by the way) is also a moneths trauell for merchants by land to *Cathay*.

Further as he hath heard (not hauing bene in those partes himselfe) ships may saile from the dominions of *Cathaia* vnto *India*. But of other waies, or how the Seas lie by any coast he knoweth not.

The instruction of another Tartarian Merchant dwelling in the citie of Boghar, as he hath learned by other his countrymen which haue bene there.

Or Serachick. First from *Astracan* by sea to *Serachocke*, is 15. dayes (affirming also that a man may trauell the other way before written by Turkemen).

From *Serachocke* to *Vrgenshe* is 15. dayes.

From *Vrgenshe* to *Boghar* also 15. dayes.

Note.—These last 30. daies iourney is without habitation of houses, therefore trauellers lodge in their owne tents, carying with them to eate their seuerall prouisions: and for drinesse there be many wels of faire water at equal baiting places not farre distant daily to be had.

Or Taskent. From *Boghar* to *Taskan*[1] easie trauelling with goods, is 14. dayes by land.

From *Taskan* to *Occient*,[2] 7. dayes.

From *Occient* to *Caskar* 20. daies. This *Caskar* is the head towne or citie of another prince, lying betweene *Boghar* and *Cathaia*, called *Reshit can*.[3]

[1] Tashkend.

[2] Uzkand, site of some ancient ruins, supposed to be of Greek origin.—*Schuyler*, ii, 46.

[3] Rashid Khan.

From *Caskar* to *Sowchik*,[1] 30. daies iourney, which *Sowchick* is the first border of *Cathay*.

From *Sowchick* to *Camchick*,[2] 5. dayes iourney, & from *Camchick* to *Cathay* is two moneths iourney, all the way being inhabited, temperate and well replenished with innumerable fruits, and the chiefe citie in that whole land is called *Cambuloo*,[3] which is yet 10. daies iourney from *Cathay*. Or Cambalu.

Beyond this land of *Cathay* which they praise to be ciuil and vnspeakably rich, is the countrey named in the Tartarian tongue *Cara-calmack*, inhabited with blacke people: but in *Cathay* the most part thereof stretching to the sunne rising, are people white and of faire complexion. Their religion also as the Tartares report is Christian, or after the manner of Christians, and their language peculiar, differing from the Tartarian tongue.

There are no great and furious Beares in trauelling through the waies aforesaid, but wolues white and blacke. And because that woods are not of such quantitie there, as in these partes of Russia, but in maner rather skant then plentifull, as is reported, the Beares breed not that way, but some other beasts (as namely one in *Russe* called *Barse*[4]) are in those coasts. This *Barse* appeereth by a skinne of one seene here to sell, to be neere so great as a big lion spotted very faire, and therefore we here take it to be a Leopard or Tiger.

Note.—20. dayes iourney from *Cathay* is a countrey named *Angrim*,[5] where liueth the beast that beareth the best muske, &

[1] Suh-chau.
[2] Kan-chau.
[3] Khanbalik (Peking).
[4] *Barse*, Russian for leopard.
[5] The name *Angrim* is a puzzle, but the allusion is evidently to Thibet, the country of the musk deer (*Moschus moschiferus*). The musk is taken, not from the knee of this animal, but from a bag situated beneath the skin of the abdomen. Great numbers were killed for the sake of this scent, which fetched a high price in the Middle Ages. — Yule's *Marco Polo*, *passim*; *Cathay*, clxxiv; Jardine's *Naturalist's Library*, xi, 116.

This note verges on the fabulous, or, as suggested in the margin, takes after Sir John Mandeville's extraordinary stories published in the first edition of Hakluyt. His chapter on pigmies should be read with it; and Marco Polo's on the marvellous people with golden teeth inhabiting the borders of Yunnan.

the principal therof is cut out of the knee of the male. The people are tawnie, & for that the men are not bearded nor differ in complexion frō women, they haue certaine tokens of iron, that is to say: the men weare the sunne round like a bosse vpon their shoulders, and women on their priuie partes. Their feeding is rawe flesh in the same land, and in another called *Titay*,[1] the Duke there is called *Can*; they worship the fire, and it is 34. dayes iourney from great *Cathay*, and in the way lieth the beautifull people, eating with kniues of gold, and are called *Comorom*,[2] and the land of small people is neerer the *Mosko* then *Cathay*.

Madeuille speaketh hereof.

Or Kitay.

Small people.

The instructions of one of Permia, who reporteth he had bene at Cathay the way before written, and also another way neere the sea coast, as followeth, which note was sent out of Prussia from *Giles Holmes*.

Pechora but six dayes iourney by land or water fro' Ob.

First from the prouince of *Dwina* is knowen the way to *Pechora*, and from *Pechora* trauelling with olens[3] or harts, is sixe dayes iourney by land, and in the Sommer as much by water to the riuer of *Ob*.[4]

The *Ob* is a riuer full of flats, the mouth of it is 70. Russe miles ouer. And from thence three dayes iourney on the right hand is a place called *Chorno-lese*,[5] to say in English, Blacke

[1] Kithai, or Cathay, as China was known to the people of Inner Asia.

[2] *Comorom* is probably an erroneous rendering of Kara muren, as the Hoang ho, or Yellow River, was known among Mongols. (See *M. Polo*, ii, 69, *seqq.*; *Hakluyt*, 1589, p. 54.)

[3] Russian for deer of all kinds, particularly for reindeer.

[4] Steven Burrough was the first Englishman to attempt to reach the Obi by water in 1556. He entered the mouth of the Pechora, met with Samoyeds, whom he describes, and brought home reports of the Obi, which he learned from masters of coasting vessels engaged in hunting walrus. One of his informants was Theodor (Feodor), possibly the same as the "Pheother Torotigin", author of the following report. —*Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 311-21.

[5] Correctly translated, "black forest". The name is of no importance beyond showing that Russians had visited the Obi, and had penetrated some distance up it, for there were no trees for some distance from its mouth.

woods, and from thence neere hand is a people called *Pechey-cony*, wearing their haire by his description after the Irish fashion.[1]

From *Pechey-cony* to *Ioult Calmachey* 3. dayes iourney, and from thence to *Chorno Callachay* 3. dayes tending to the South-east.

These two people are of the Tartarian faith, and tributaries to the great *Can*.

Here follow certaine countreys of the Samoeds[2] which dwell vpon the riuer Ob, and vpon the sea coasts beyond the same, taken out of the Russe tongue word by word, and trauelled by a Russe borne in Colmogro, whose name was Pheother Towtigin, who, by report, was slaine in his second voyage in one of the sayd countreys.

Vpon the East part beyond the countrey of *Vgori*,[3] the riuer *Ob* is the most Westermost part thereof. Vpon the sea coast dwell *Samoeds*, and their countrey is called *Molgomzey*,[4] whose meat is flesh of olens or harts, and fishe, and doe eate one another some-

[1] The name of this people affords no clue to their identity, while the description merely points to their being barbarians similar in aspect to the Irish kernes employed in the Netherlands towards the end of the sixteenth century. "It seemed", said one who had seen them, "that they belonged not to Christendom but to Brazil."—Motley's *United Netherlands*, ii, 155.

[2] For a description of the Samoyèdes, see note on p. 36.

[3] Vgori (Ugria), on Jenkinson's map "Iorghoria", the country of "Zlata Baba", or Golden Old Woman, worshipped by the people of Obdora at the mouth of the Obi. The fable, as given in *Herberstein* (ii, 41), is figured by our author, who represents the statue apparently with both son and grandson. The name "Ugria" has been given to a race classed by Dr. Latham among the Turanian Altaic Mongolidæ, and comprising Lapps, Finns, and Permians in the north and north-west of Russia, Magyars in Hungary, Voguls and Ostiaks of Siberia. Our word "ogre" is perhaps derived from this people.

[4] Molgomzey occurs in the extreme north-east corner of Jenkinson's map as "Molgomzaia".

times among themselues. And if any merchants come vnto them, then they kill one of their children for their sakes to feast them withall. And if a merchant chance to die with them, they burie him not, but eate him, and so doe they eate them of their owne countrey likewise. They be euill of sight and haue small noses, but they be swift and shoote very wel, and they trauaile on harts and on dogges, and their apparell is Sables and Harts skinnes. They have no merchandise but sables onely.

Trauelling on harts and dogs.

2. Item, on the same coast or quarter beyond those people, and by the sea side also doeth dwell another kind of *Samoeds* in like maner, hauing another language. One moneth in the yeere they liue in the sea, and do not come or dwell on the drie land for that moneth.

3. Item, beyond these people, on the sea coast, there is another kind of *Samoeds*, their meate is flesh and fish, and their merchaundise are Sables, white and blacke Foxes (which the Russes call *Pselts*[1]) and harts skins and fawnes skins.

The relation of Chaggi Memet, a Persian Merchant, to Baptista Ramusius and other notable citizens of Venice, touching the way from Tauris, the chiefe citie of Persia, to Campion, a citie of Cathay, ouerland: in which voiage he himselfe had passed before with the carauans.[2]

From *Tauris*[3] to *Soltania* . .	6	dayes iourney.
From *Soltania* to *Casbin* . .	4	,,
From *Casbin* to *Veremi*[4] . .	6	,,
From *Veremi* to *Eri*[5] . . .	15	,,

[1] Psets, the Arctic fox (*Canis lagopus*).

[2] Reverse of *Iter.* in *Ramusio Delle Navigazioni e Viaggi*, tom. ii, p. 16, 1583; also Yule's *Cathay*, ccxvii.—C.

[3] Tabriz.

[4] Veramin, two marches east of Teheran, close to the ancient Rai. (See *Cathay*, ccxvii.)

[5] Herat.

From *Eri* to *Boghara* . . .	20	dayes iourney.
From *Boghara* to *Samarchand* .	5	„
From *Samarchand* to *Caskar* .	25	„
From *Caskar* to *Acsu* . . .	20	„
From *Acsu* to *Cuchi*[1] . . .	20	„
From *Cuchi* to *Chialis*[2] . .	10	„
From *Chialis* to *Turfon*[3] . .	10	„
From *Turfon* to *Camul*[4] . .	13	„
From *Camul* to *Succuir* . .	15	„
From *Succuir* to *Gauta*[5] . .	5	„
From *Gauta* to *Campion* . .	6	„

Which *Campion* is a citie of the Empire of *Cathay* in the prouince of *Tangut*, from whence the greatest quantitie of Rubarbe commeth.

A letter[6] of *Master Anthonie Ienkinson* vpon his returne from *Boghar* to the worshipful *Master Henry Lane*,[7] agent for the *Moscouie* Companie, resident in Vologda, written in the *Mosco* the 18. of September 1559.

WORSHIPFULL SIR, after my heartie commendations premised with most desire to God of your welfare and prosperous successe in all your affaires. It may please you to bee aduertised that the fourth of this present I arriued with *Richard Iohnson* and *Robert Iohnson* all in health thankes bee to God. Wee haue beene as farre as *Boghar*, and had proceeded

[1] Kucha. [2] Karashahr. [3] Turfan.
[4] Hami. [5] Kao-tai, between Kan-chau and Suh-chau.
[6] *Hakluyt*, 1599, i, 305.
[7] Henry Lane accompanied Chancellor in his second voyage to Russia in 1555, and proceeded with him to Mosco the same year. He there took part in the interviews and negotiations which led to the first grant of privileges to English merchants. (See *Hakl.*, 1589, p. 299.)

Master Ienkinsons voyage intended for Cathay.

further on our voyage toward the lande of *Cathay*, had it not bene for the incessant and continuall warres which are in all these brutall and wilde countreys, that it is at this present impossible to passe, neither went there any carauan of people from *Boghar* that way these three yeeres. And although our iourney hath bene so miserable, dangerous and chargeable with losses, charges and expenses, as my penne is not able to expresse the same: yet shall wee bee able to satisfie the worshipfull companies mindes, as touching the discouerie of the *Caspian* sea,[1] with the trade of merchandize to bee had in such landes and countreyes as bee thereabout adiacent, and haue brought of the wares and commodities of those countries able to answere the principall with profite[2]: wishing that there were vtterance for as great a quantitie kersies and other wares as there is profite to bee had in the sales of a small quantitie (all such euill fortunes being escaped as to vs haue chaunced this present voyage) for then it would be a trade worthie to bee followed. Sir, for that I trust you will be here shortly (which I much desire) I will deferre the discourse with you at large vntill your comming, as well touching my trauel, as of other things. Sir John Lucke[3] departed from hence toward England the seuenth of

The discouerie of the Caspian sea.

Passage to and from Moscouia by Sweden.

[1] By *discovery* we must understand *exploration*, the Caspian Sea having been discovered and sailed over centuries before Jenkinson's time. (See curious representation of an earlier navigation on Catalan map, 1375.)

[2] From this passage—the only reference to the subject—it is to be inferred that the journey to Bokhara was not a failure from a commercial point of view.

[3] Sir John Locke is erroneously mentioned by Fox Bourne, in his *English Seamen under the Tudors* (vol. i, p. 108), as having accompanied Jenkinson to Aleppo in 1553. His name occurs (*Hakl.*, 1599, ii, p. 114) as one of the earliest traders to the Levant, and Thomas Locke (probably a relation) was one of the adventurers in the second voyage to Guinea in 1554 (*Hakl.*, 1589, p. 89). A namesake of the first, and perhaps descendant, the celebrated author of the *Human Understanding*, wrote the history of navigation prefixed to Churchill's collections of voyages, recently reprinted in the collected works of John Locke.—C.

this present, and intendeth to passe by the way of Sweden, by whom I sent a letter to the worshipfull Companie, and haue written that I intend to cõme downe vnto *Colmogro* to be readie there at the next shipping to imbarke myselfe for England, declaring that my seruice shall not be needfull here, for that you are a man able to serue their worships in greater affaires than they haue heere to doe, so farre as I perceiue. As touching the Companies affaires here, I referre you to Christopher Hudsons[1] letters, for that I am but newly arriued. Hauing here but little businesse to doe, I send you Richard Iohnson to helpe you there in your affaires. Thus giuing you most heartie thanks for my wench Aura Soltana,[2] I commend you to the tuition of God, who send you health with hearts desire.

This was a young Tartar girle which he gaue to the Queene afterwarde.

Your assured to command

ANTHONIE IENKINSON.

The Queenes Maiesties letters to the Emperour of Russia, requesting licence, and safe conduct for *Master Anthony Ienkinson*, to passe through his kingdome of Russia, into Persia to the Great Sophie.[3]

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Queene of England etc. to the right excellent, and right mightie Prince, Lorde *Iohn Vasiliwiche*, Emperour of all Russia, etc. greeting, and most

[1] Christopher Hudson, whose name occurs in George Killingworth's letter, went out to Russia in Chancellor's second voyage, and was afterwards, in 1570, chief agent of the Russia Company at Narva.—*Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 299, 301, 426, *seq.*

[2] This is the only allusion to Aura Soltana, whom Jenkinson may have picked up at Astrakhan on his outward journey, for he mentions (*ante*, p. 58) that he could have bought there a boy or a *wench* for a loaf of bread. If this surmise be correct, it is probable that our traveller would have sent the girl back to Mosco or Vologhda, entrusting her to the care of his friend and countryman, Henry Lane.—C.

[3] In Latin and English.—*Hakluyt*, 1589, 359-361.

happie increase in all prosperitie. Right Mightie Prince, the amitie of your Maiestie towards vs, and our Subiects, is very pleasant to vs to be remembred, which being begunne by the goodnes of God, in the raigne of our most deere brother of happie memorie, King *Edward* the Sixt, and afterwardes, through your not onely singular humanitie, fedde and nourished but also through your incredible goodnes increased, and augmented, is nowe so firmed, and established, with all manner of tokens of your beneuolence, that nowe wee doubt not, but that from hence foorth, during many ages, the same shall endure to the praise of God to both our glories, to the publike great commoditie of our Realmes on either part, and to the priuate desired hope, and certaine felicitie of all our Subiects.

And although that this your goodnes hath bene aboundantly extended to all our Subiects, that haue at any time repaired into any part of your Empire, for the which wee giue (as reason is) your Maiestie right hartie thankes, and will againe shewe the like vnto yours, right willingly, whensoeuer opportunitie shall require: yet the aboundance of your benignitie both in receauing, and also in entertayning our faithfull, and beloued seruant, *Anthonie Ienkinson*, the bringer of these our letters, is vnto vs for him priuately very thankefull. For besides this, that in all places of your Empire, he not onely by your Maiesties sufferance, but also by your commandement, enioyed much libertie, and great friendshippe, your goodnes not ceasing in this your domesticall disposition of clemencie, did right willingly, and of your owne aboundant grace, commende the same our well-beloued seruant, by your letters, sealed with your Imperiall seale, to sundry forren Princes, vnto whome he was minded to iourney: which your magnificence did purchase vnto him happily, and according to his desire, both passage without all perill, through your notable credite, and also atchieuing of his iourney through your commendation.

Therefore like as these your duplicated beneuolences, both that one generally exhibited to all our Subiectes, frequenting, that your Realme, and also this the other extended apart to this our right faithfull seruant *Anthonie Ienkinson*, is right assuredly fastened in our remembrance not onely for a perpetuall, and gratefull memoriall, but also for a mutuall and meete compensation: so wee desire of your Maiestie, to vouchsafe from hence foorth to conserue and continue the geminate disposition of your beneuolences, both generally to all our Subiects, and also priuately to this our beloued seruant. And we doubt not but at our request, you will againe gratiously shewe vnto the same *Anthonie*, nowe admitted into our seruice, the like fauour as heretofore your Maiestie of your meere notion, did exhibite vnto him being then a priuate person. And therefore wee desire your Maiestie eftsoones to graunt to the same our seruant, your letters of licence, pasport, and safe conduct, through the tenor, authoritie and helpe whereof, he, his seruants, together with their marchandizes, baggages, horses and goods whatsoeuer, that shall be brought in, or carried out, by or through all your Empire, kingdome, dominions, and prouinces, may surely, and freely iourney, goe, passe, repasse, depart, and there tarry so long as it shall please him: and from thence returne, whensoeuer it shall seeme good to him, or his: and as wee doubt not, but that your Maiestie in the goodnes of your nature, will gratiously and aboundantly grant all these good offices of humanitie, so wee doe hartely desire, that your Maiestie will likewise vouchsafe to commende the same our seruant, together with all his goods, by your letters, to other forren Princes, and specially to the Great Sophie, and Emperour of *Persia*, into whose Empire, and Iurisdictions, the same our seruant purposeth with his for to iourney chiefly for triall of forreine marchandizes.

We therefore doe trust, that all these our demands shall tende, and haue effect, according to the hope of our seruant, and to our expectation, for your wealth, for the commoditie

of both our Subiects, luckie to him, thankefull to vs, acceptable to your Maiestie, and very profitable to our Subiects on either part. God grant vnto your Maiestie long and happie felicitie in earth and euerlasting in heauen. Dated in our famous Citie of London, the 25. day of the moneth of Aprill in the yeere of the creation of the world, 5523. and of our Lorde God Iesus Christ, 1561. and of our raigne, the third.

The Queenes Maiesties letters to the Great Sophie[1] of Persia, sent by Master Anthony Ienkinson.[2]

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. To the right mightie and right victorious Prince, the Great *Sophie,* Emperour of the *Persians, Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanes, Carmanarians, Margians,*[3] of the people on this side, and

This letter was also written in Hebrue and Italian.

[1] Geoffrey Ducket erroneously defines "Sophi" as Persian for "beggar" (*Hakl.*, p. 422), doubtless referring to the numerous religious mendicants in the East. Sophi, Sufi or Safi was a philosophy, and became the surname of a dynasty of Persian monarchs, who adopted the tenets of the "Sufi". Shah Ismail Sufi developed this religion in Persia (*circa* 1500). The word is the Arabic "Safi", pure, clear, bright, also just, upright. The Greek σόφος, whence our word sophistry is probably derived.

[2] In Latin and English.—*Hakluyt*, 1589, 361-2.

[3] This style and title must have included much more than the Shah of Persia could, even in those days, claim; nor do the names enumerated represent distinct nationalities, as they did in the ancient Persian empire. They were used merely to add to the dignity and importance of the Shah in his own eyes. It is needless to refer to the Medes and Parthians; of the others here mentioned, the *Hyrcanes* were the inhabitants of Hyrcania, south-east of the Caspian, its chief town being Hyrcania, *i.e.*, Djurdjan or Hürgen, now marked by some ruins. The *Carmanarians*, *i.e.*, Carmanians, inhabited that province of Persia now known as Kerman, bordering on the Indian Ocean; while the *Margians*, or inhabitants of Margiana, joined Bactria on the east, and took their name from the river Margus, the Murghab of the present day, on which once stood the city of Antiochia Margiana, in modern times the undeservedly celebrated Merv.

beyond the Riuer of *Tygris*, and of all men, and nations, betweene the *Caspian* sea, and the gulph of *Persia*, greeting, and most happie increase in all prosperitie. By the goodnes of the Almightie God, it is ordayned that those people, which not onely the huge distance of landes, and the inuincible widenes of Seas, but also the very quarters of the heauens doe most farre separate, and sette asunder, may neuerthelesse through good commendation by writing, both ease, and also communicate betweene them, not onely the conceaued thoughts or deliberations, and gratefull offices of humanitie, but also many commodities of mutuall intelligence. Therefore whereas our faithfull, and right welbeloued seruant *Anthonie Ienkinson*, bearer of these our letters, is determined with our license, fauour and grace, to passe out of this our Realme, and by Gods sufferance to trauell euen into *Persia*, and other your Iurisdictions: wee minde truely with our good fauour, to sette forward, and aduance, that his right laudable purpose: and that the more willingly, for that this his enterprise is onely grounded vpon an honest intent, to establish trade of marchandize with your Subiects, and with other strangers traffiking your Realmes. Wherefore we haue thought good, both to write to your Maiestie, and also to desire the same, to vouchsafe at our request, to grant to our saide seruant *Anthonie Ienkinson*, good pasports, and safe conducts, by meanes, and authoritie whereof, it may be free and lawfull for him, together with his familiars, seruants, cariage, marchandize, and goods whatsoeuer, through your Realmes, Dominions, Iurisdictions, and Prouinces, freely, and without impeachment, to iourney, goe, passe, repasse, depart, and tarry so long as he shall please, and from thence to returne whensoeuer he or they shall thinke good. If these holye duties of entertainment, and sweete offices of naturall humanitie, may be willingly concluded, sincerely embraced, and firmely obserued betweene vs, and our Realmes, and Subiects, then wee doe hope, that the Almightie God will

bring it to passe, that of these small beginnings, greater moments of things shall hereafter spring, both to our furniture, and honors, and also to the great commodities and vse of our peoples: so it will be knowen, that neither the earth, the seas, nor the heauens, haue so much force to separate vs, as the godly disposition of naturall humanitie, and mutuall beneuolence, haue to ioyne vs strongly together. God grant vnto your Maiestie, long and happie felicitie in earth, and perpetuall in heauen. Dated in England, in our famous Citie of London, the 25. day of the moneth of Aprill, in the yeere of the creation of the world, 5523. and of our Lord Iesus Christ, 1561. and of our Raigne the third.

A remembrance giuen by vs the Gouernours, Consuls, and *Assistants of the companie of Marchants, trading into Russia*, the eight day of May 1561. to our trustie friende Anthonie Ienkinson, at his departure towards Russia, and so to Persia, in this our eight iourney.[1]

FIRST you shall vnderstand, that we haue laden in our good shippe, called the *Swallowe*, one Chest, the keyes whereof wee doe here deliuer you, and also a bill, wherein are written particularly the contents in the saide Chest, and what euery thing did coste: and because, as you knowe, the saide Chest is of charge, wee desire you to haue a speciall regarde vnto it, and when God shall sende you vnto *Musko*, our minds and will is, that you, with the aduise of our Agents there, doe appoynt some such presents for the Emperour, and his sonne, either wine, clothe of golde, scarlet, or plate, as to your good discretion shall be thought meet, and when you haue deliuered vnto him the Queenes Maiesties letters, and our said present in the name of the company, we thinke it good that you make your humble sute vnto his highness in our name,

[1] *Hakluyt*, 1589, p. 362.

to get his licence or safeconduct for you and all other our seruants or Agents at all times heereafter, with such wares and merchandize as you at this time, or they heerafter at all other times shall thinke good, to passe out of his dominions towards *Tartaria, Persia,* or other places, and also to returne vnto *Mosco* with such wares and merchandizes as you shall bring or send from any land or countrey that is not in his dominions, and if it be thought good by you and our Agents there to make composition with the Emperor or his officers for some certaine custome or tole vpon such goods as we shall passe that way, to the intent we might be the better fauoured, we referre it to your discretion, foreseeing that the opening of this matter be not preiudiciall vnto our former priuileges.

And for the sale of our cloth of golde, plate, pearles, saphyres, and other iewels, we put our trust and confidence in you, principally to sell them for ready mony, time to good debters, or in barter for good wares, so that you make our other Agents priuy how & for what price you sell any of the premises, and also deliuer such summes of mony, billes or wares as you shall receiue, vnto our said Agents: thinking good, further, that if you perceiue that the plate or other iewels, or any part thereof will not be solde for profit before your departure from the *Mosco,* that then you cause them to be safe packed, and set order they may be sent hither againe in our shippes the next yeere, except you perceiue that there may be some profit in carrying some part of them into *Persia,* which we would not to be of any great value.

We haue also laden in the said *Swallow* and the other two ships, 80. fardles,[1] conteining 400. karsies,[2] as by the enuoys[3]

[1] Fardles. Old French. The old form of *fardeau,* a pack, bundle, was probably derived from Arab. *fardah,* a package.—*Skeat,* p. 203—C.

[2] Karsie (kersey), a coarse woollen cloth, so called after the village of Kersey, in Suffolk, where the woollen trade was established by a colony of Flemings.—Isaac Taylor, *Words and Places,* p. 292.

[3] Fr. envois, *i.e.,* invoices.

do appeare, which fardles be packed, and appointed to be caryed into *Persia:* neuerthelesse if you chance to finde good sales for them in the *Mosco*, we thinke it were good to sell part of them there, and to cary the lesse quantity with you, because we be vncertaine what vent or sale you shall finde in *Persia* or other places where you shall come.

If you obtaine the Emperours licence to passe out of his dominions, and to returne, as aforesaid, and that you perceiue you may safely do the same, our minde is, that at such time as you thinke best and most conuenient for that pourpose, you do appoint so many, & such of our hyred seruants or apprentises as you thinke necessary & meet for our affayres, and may best be spared to go with you in your said voyage, whereof we would one to be such as you might make priuie of all your doings for diuers considerations and causes that may happen: which seruants & apprentises, we wil and command, by this our remembrance, to be obedient vnto you as vnto vs, not onely to go with you, and to do such things as you command them in your presence, but also to go vnto such countries or places as you shall appoint them vnto, either with wares or without wares, and there to remaine and continue so long as you shall thinke good, and if they or any of them will refuse to do such things as you do appoint them, as aforesaid, or that any of them (be he hyred seruant or apprentise) do misuse himselfe by any maner of disobedience or disorder, and will not by gentle and fayre meanes be reformed, we will that you send him back to the *Mosco*, with straight order that he may be sent from thence hither, and let vs haue knowledge of his euill behauior, to the intent that if he be a hyred seruant we may pay him his wages according to his seruice, and if he be an apprentise we may vse him according to his deserts.

We will also that you take with you such karsies, scarlet, & other clothes, or any other such wares of ours, as you shall thinke good, and so in the name of God to take your iourney

towardes *Persia*, either by the way of *Astracan* and *Mare Caspium*, or otherwise, as you shall see cause: and when God sendeth you into *Persia*, our minde is, that you repayre vnto the great Sophie with the Queenes Maiesties letters, if he be not too farre from the *Caspian* sea for you to trauell, and that you make him such a present as you shall thinke meete, and if you passe by any other kinges, princes, or gouernours, before or after you come to the presence of the Sophie, likewise to make them some present, as you see cause according to their estate and dignitie, and withall to procure letters of priuilege or safeconduct of the sayd Sophie or other princes in as large and ample maner as you can, for the sure establishing of further trade in merchandize by vs heerafter to be made, frequented and continued in those parts, not onely that we may freely sell in all places within his dominions such wares as we cary thither, but also buy and bring away any maner of wares or merchandizes whatsoeuer it be, that is for our purpose and commoditie within his dominions, with free passage also for vs at all times to passe as often as we will with our goods and merchandize into any part of India or other countryes therevnto adioyning, and in like maner to returne through his dominions into *Russia* or elswhere.

And for the sale of our karsies or other wares that you shall haue with you, as our trust is that you will doe for our most profite and commoditie: euen so we referre all vnto your good discretion, as well in the sale of our sayd goodes, as to make our returne in such thinges as you shall finde there, and thinke best for our profite. But if passage can not be had into *Persia* by *Astracan*, or otherwise, the next Summer, which shall be in the yeere 1562. then our minde is, that you procure to sell our karsies, and other such wares as are appoynted for *Persia*, in the Mosco or other the Emperours dominions, if you may sell them for any reasonable price, and then to employ your selfe with such other of our seruantes

The passage of *Noua Zembla*.

as you shall think meete for the search of the passage by *Noua Zembla*,[1] or els you to returne for England as you thinke good. Prouided alwayes that if you doe perceiue or vnderstand, that passage is like to be had into *Persia* the Summer following, which shall be in the yeere 1563, and that you can not sell our karsies in the Emperours dominions, as aforesayd, at a reasonable price: then we will rather they may be kept till the sayd Summer in the yeere 1563. and then you to proceed forwards vpon your iourney towards *Persia*, as aforesayd. If passage into *Persia* can not be obteined the next yeere, neither good hope of passage in the yeere 1563. neither yet in the meane time, good sale of our karsies in the Emperours dominions, then we thinke good for you to see if you can practise to cary your sayd wares by safe conduct through *Polonia*, or any other wayes vnto *Constantinople*, or els where you thinke better sale may be had, then in *Russia*.

Thus haue we giuen you to vnderstand our meaninges in this intended aduenture: but forasmuch as we do consider and know, that if we should prescribe vnto you any certaine way, or direct order what you should doe, we might so worke cleane contrary to our purpose and intent: therefore knowing your approoued wisedome with your experience, and also your carefull and diligent minde in the atchieuing and bringing to good successe (by the helpe of almighty God) all thinges that you take in hand, we doe commit our whole affayres concerning the sayd aduenture whollie vnto your good discretion, praying God so to prosper you, as may be first for his glory, secondly, for the honour and commoditie of

[1] Steven Burrough sailed through Vaigats Straits in 1556, and heard from a coaster of Nova Zembla, or New Land. Burrough was the first Englishman to hear of it, and his partial success in navigating towards the North-East led to subsequent expeditions organised by the Muscovy Company. (See *Hakl.*, 1589, p. 318.)

this realme, and next for our profit, with the increase of your good name for euer.

And yet further desiring, and also most earnestly requiring you as you tender the state of our company, that you will haue a speciall regard vnto the order of our houses & our seruants, as well at *Colmogro* and *Vologda*, as at *Mosco*, and to see and consider if any misorder be amongst our seruants or apprentises, whereby you thinke we might heerafter be put to hinderance or losse of any part of our goods or priuilege there, that you do not onely see the same reformed, but also to certifie vs thereof by your letter at large, as our trust is in you.

And for the better knowledge to be had in the prices and goodnesse of such things as we do partly suppose you shall finde in the parties of *Russia*, we doe heerewith deliuer you a quantitie of certaine drugges, whereby you may perceiue how to know the best, and also there is noted the prices of such wares and drugges as be heere most vendible: also we deliuer you heerewith one pound and one ounce weight in brasse, to the end, that you may therby, and with the bill of prices of wares know what things be worth heere. As for the knowledge of silks, we need not to giue you any instructions therof, other then you know.

Waights and drugs deliuered to M. Ienkinson.

Also if you vnderstand that any commoditie in *Russia*, be profitable for vs to haue with you into *Persia* or other places, our mindes is that our Agents shall either prouide it for you, or deliuer you money to make prouision your selfe. And because the Russes say that in trauelling Eastwards from *Colmogro* thirtie or fortie dayes iourney, there is the maine sea[1] to be found, we thinke that Richard Iohnson might imploy his time that way by land, and to be at *Mosco* time enough to goe with you into *Persia*: for if it be true that he may trauell to the sea that way, and that he may know how

The maine sea within thirtie dayes Eastward of *Colmogro*.

[1] Probably intended to refer to the Kara Sea.

many miles it is towards the East from *Colmogro*, it will be a great helpe for vs to finde out the straight and passage that way, if any be there to be had.

WILLIAM GERRARD, } Gouernors.
THOMAS LODGE, }
WILLIAM MERRIKE.
BLASE SANDERS.

A compendious and briefe declaration of the iourney

of M. *Anthonie Ienkinson*, from the famous citie of London into the lande of *Persia*, passing in this same iourney through *Russia*, *Muscouia*, and *Mare Caspium*, aliâs *Hircanum*, sent and imployed therein by the right worshipfull *Societie of the Merchants Aduenturers*, for the discouerie of Lands, Islands, &c. Being begunne the foureteenth day of May, Ann. 1561: and in the third yeere of the raigne of the Queenes Maiestie that now is: this present declaration being directed and written to the foresayd Societie.[1]

FIRST imbarking my selfe in a good shippe of yours, named the *Swallow*, at Grauesend, hauing a fayre and good winde, our anker then weyed,[2] and committing all to the protection of our God, hauing in our sailing diuersitie of windes, and thereby forced to direct and obserue sundry courses (not here rehearsed, because you haue beene thereof heeretofore amply informed) on the foureteenth day of Iuly, the yeere aforesaid, I arriued in the bay of S. Nicholas in *Russia*: and the sixe and twentith day of the same moneth, after conference then had with your Agents there, concerning your worshippes affayres, I departed from thence, passing through the countrey of *Vago*,[3] and on the eight day of August then following I

[1] *Hakluyt* (1589 ed., p. 365). This portion of the text has been collated with the MSS. in the Hatfield and Helmingham Hall collections, for access to which we have to thank the courtesy of their noble owners. In a few instances where a different reading occurs in the MSS., it is given at foot of text.

[2] Both MSS. add: "and so availlinge", *i.e.*, lowering sailes: *cf.* Shakespere "Vailing her high top lower than her ribs" (*Merch. Ven.*, act i, sc. i, line 29).—C.

[3] Vago, or Vaga, was an ancient territorial division of Northern Russia, comprising parts of what are now known as the Archangel, Vologhda, and Olonetz Governments, and extending along the course

came to *Vologda*, which is distant from *Colmogro* seuen hundred miles, where I remained foure dayes, attending the arriuall of one of your boates, wherein was laden a chest of iewels with the present, by your worshippes appoynted for the Emperours Maiestie: which being arriued, and the chest receiued, I therewith departed toward the citie of *Moscouia*, and came thither the twentith day of the same moneth, where I immediatly caused my comming to be signified vnto the Secretarie of the Imperiall Maiestie, with the Queenes highnesse letters addressed vnto the same his Maiestie, who informed the Emperour thereof. But his highnesse hauing great affayres, and being at that present ready to be marryed vnto a Lady of *Chirchassi*,[1] of the Mahometicall law, commanded that no stranger, Ambassadour, nor other, should come before him for a time, with further straight charge, that during the space of three dayes that the same solemne feast was celebrating, the gates of the citie should be shutte, and that no person, stranger or natiue (certeine of his householde reserued) should come out of theyr sayd

The Queenes letters to the Emperor of Russia.

of the Vago, a left tributary of the Northern Dwina, for a length of 270, and a breadth of 130 miles. This region was in early days inhabited by a tribe known to ethnologists as the Zavolotski Chudi. Novgorodian hunters, attracted by the abundance of wild animals in the dense forests of Vago, first visited it in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and from that time it came to be included in the Trans-Onega half of the Circum-Onega *piatina*, or fifth, another ancient territorial division. Upon the fall of Novgorod, Vago was united with the Grand Duchy of Mosco, and divided into seven districts. In 1770 it was included in the Government of Archangel, its chief town being then, as it is now, Vago, or Shenkursk (hence "Vagani", a name applied to the peasants of Shenkursk). In 1780 the Vago country was again subdivided into two districts, one of which became part of the Archangel Government, the other of Vologhda. Jenkinson's route would, of course, have lain past this country.—*Semeonof.*

[1] *Circassia.* His first wife, Anastasia, having died in 1560, Ivan married, 26th August 1561, a Circassian lady, daughter of Temgruk (Temruk), one of the most illustrious of the Cherkess princes. She is described as charming, and on being admitted into the Greek Church, received at her baptism the name of Mary.—*Karamsin*, ix, 41.

houses during the sayd triumph, the cause thereof vnto this day not being knowne.

The sixt of September following, the Emperour made a great feast, whereunto were called all Ambassadours and strangers being of reputation, and hauing affayres: amongst whom I was one, but being willed by the Secretarie[1] first to come, and to shew him the Queenes Maiesties letters, I refused so to doe, saying I would deliuer the same vnto the Emperours owne handes, and not otherwise: which heard, the Secretarie answered, that vnlesse he might first peruse the said letters, I should not come into the Emperours presence, so that I was not at the feast. Neuerthelesse, I was aduertised by a noble man that I was inquired for by the Emperours Maiestie, although the cause of my absence was to his Maiestie vnknowne. The next day following, I caused a supplication to be made, and presented it to his highnesse owne handes, and thereby declared the cause of my comming, signified by the Queenes Maiesties letters, and the answere of his sayd Secretary, most humbly beseeching his Grace that he would receiue and accept the same her highnesse letters, with such honor and friendshippe, as his letters sent by *Osepp Napeya* were receiued by the handes of our late Souereigne lady Queene Mary, or els that it would please his highnesse to dismisse me, saying that I would not deliuer the said letters but vnto his owne handes for that it is so vsed in our countrey. Thus the matter being pondered, and the effect of my suplication well disgested, I was forthwith commanded to come with the sayd letters before his Maiestie, and so deliuered the same into his owne handes, (with such presents as by you were appoynted) according to my request, which were gratefully accepted, and the same day I dined in his

[1] This secretary, who appears to have been unfriendly towards Jenkinson, though generally well disposed towards the English, was probably Mikhailof, identical with Ivan Michailof Viscovaty, already mentioned (*ante*, p. 30).

Graces presence, with great intertainment. Shortly after, I desired to know whether I should be licenced to passe through his highnesse dominions into the land of Persia, according to the Queenes Maiesties request: heereunto it was answered, that I should not passe thither, for that his Maiestie ment to send an armie of men that way into the land of *Chircassi*, wherby my iourney should be both dangerous and troublesome, and that if I should perish therein, it would be much to his Graces dishonour, but he doubted other matters, although they were not expressed. Thus hauing receiued his answere, neither to my expectation, nor yet contentation, and there remaining a good part of the yeere, hauing in that time solde the most part of your karsies and other wares appointed for *Persia*, when the time of the yeere required to returne for England, I desired pasport, and post horses for money, which was granted: but hauing receiued my pasport ready to depart, there came vnto our house there *Osip Nepeya*,[1] who perswaded me that I should not depart that

Request to passe into Persia, thorow Moscouie.

Osippe Nepeya, Embassador from the Emperour of Russia to Q. Mary.

Osip, or Osep (Joseph) Nepea had exerted himself before on behalf of the English, not unmindful of the hospitality shown him in England. All we know about him is that, being Governor of Vologhda, he was appointed by the Tsar his envoy to England in 1554. He sailed with Chancellor, and narrowly escaped drowning in the shipwreck in Pitsligo Bay, landing on the coast of Scotland in November that year. His first experiences of our countrymen were singularly unfavourable, for he lost the greater part of the valuable goods he brought, which were plundered by the lawless population of that part of the Scottish coast. Some were restored to him through the exertions of the English Government, but the greater part was lost, together with the lives of some of his suite. Proceeding by land to London, he everywhere received a cordial welcome. On approaching the capital, a deputation of the leading citizens, headed by the Lord Mayor, came forth to meet him, and conducted him through the streets, which were thronged by enthusiastic crowds, to a house prepared for him in Fenchurch Street. He was received in audience by King Philip and Queen Mary, and entertained most hospitably by the Muscovy Company. He returned to Russia in 1557 with Jenkinson (*ante*, p. 11), loaded with marks of favour, and bearing costly presents to his sovereign. Contemporary historians bear witness

day, saying that the Emperour was not truely informed, imputing great fault to the frowardnesse of the Secretary, who was not my friend: before whom comming againe the next day, and finding the same Secretary and *Osip Nepeya* together, after many allegations and obiections of things, and perceiuing that I would depart, I was willed to remaine vntill the Emperours Maiestie was spoken with againe touching my passage: wherewith I was content, and within three dayes after sending for me, he declared that the Emperors pleasure was, that I should not onely passe thorow his dominions into *Persia*, but also haue his Graces letters of commendations to forren princes, with certaine his affayres committed to my charge, too long here to rehearse:[1] wherevpon I appointed my selfe for the voyage, and the 15. day of March, the yeere aforesaid, I dined againe in his Maiesties presence in company of an Ambassdour of *Persia* and others, and receiuing a cuppe of drinke at his Maiesties hands, I tooke my leaue of his highnesse, who did not only giue me letters as aforesaid, but also committed matter of importance & charge vnto me, to be done when I should arriue in those countries whither I intended to go, and hauing all things in readinesse for the same voyage, I departed from the citie of *Mosco* the 27. day of Aprill 1562, downe by the great riuer of *Volga*, in company of the said Ambassador of *Persia*, with

to the dignity with which Nepea acquitted himself of his ambassadorial functions, and to the esteem in which he was held. His name, which is quite uncommon in Russia, suggests the possibility of his having been Scotch by origin, perhaps related to the well-known family whose present representative, Lord Napier and Ettrick, was one of the most successful of English ambassadors at the Court of St. Petersburg in modern times.—*Hakl.*, 1589, pp. 321-326, 338, *seqq.*; Holinshed's *Chronicle*, p. 1132.

[1] What these affairs were we are unable to say; if they concerned the State, perhaps some record of them may be preserved among the archives in Mosco. In any case, Ivan gave our traveller an order to purchase for him, in Persia, silk and precious stones. (See *Karamsin*, ix, p. 167, and note, p. 617.)

Astracan. whom I had great friendship and conference all the way downe the same river vnto *Astracan*, where we arriued all in health the 10. day of Iune.

And as touching the situations of the cities, towns, castles, and countryes,[1] as well of Mahometans as also of Gentils adioyning to the same, whereby I passed from *Mosco* vnto *Astracan*, I omit in this breuiat to rehearse, for that I heretofore haue declared the same most amply vnto you in

M. Ienkinson's voyage to Boghar. my voyage to Boghar. Thus being arriued at *Astracan*, as is aforesaid, I repayred vnto the captaine there, vnto whom I was commended from the Emperours Maiesty, with great charge that he not only should ayd and succor me with all things needfull during my abode there, but also to safeconduct me with 50. gunners well appointed in two strooges[2] or brigantines into the *Caspian* sea, vntill I had passed certaine dangerous places which pirats & rouers do accustome to haunt, & hauing prepared my barke for the sea, the Ambassador of *Persia* being before departed in a barke of his owne, the 15. day of Iuly, the yeere aforesaid, I and my company tooke our voyage from the said *Astracan*, and the next day at a

He passeth the Caspian sea. West sunne,[3] passed the mouth of the said riuer being twentie miles distant, lying next Southeast.[4] The 18. at a Southwest sunne,[5] we passed by three Ilands[6] being distant nine miles from the said mouth of *Volga*, and Southsouthwest from

[1] Both MSS. have "and of nations".

[2] The *stroog*, in old Russian, was a river craft propelled by oars and sail. Those commonly used on the Western Dvina were of about 150 tons burden. From the circumstance of their being otherwise called "brigantines" in the text, it is probable that a similar craft was employed by pirates on the Caspian. The word is derived from *strogait*, to plane.

[3] *I.e.*, 4 p.m.

[4] Hatf. MS. has "south-west", doubtless the correct reading.

[5] *I.e.*, 2 p.m.

[6] There are numerous islands off the mouth of the Volga, and it would be hardly possible to identify any three in particular with those seen by Jenkinson.

thence, sailing Southsouthwest the next day, at a West by North sunne we fell with a land called *Challica Ostriua,*[1] being foure round Islands together, distant from the said three Islands fortie miles. From thence sailing the said course the next day, we had sight of a land called *Tuke,*[2] in the countrey of *Tywmen,* where pirats and rouers doe vse: for feare of whom wee haled off into the sea due East fortie miles, and fell vpon shallowes out of the sight of land, and there were like to haue perished, escaping most hardly: then the 22. day we had sight of a goodly Island called *Chatalet,*[3] distant from the said *Challica Ostriua* a hundred

The countrey of Tywmen.

The Island of Chatalet.

[1] Helm. MS. has "*Chatira*", *i.e.*, four. *Cheteri Bugri*, "island of four hillocks", is mentioned by C. Burrough (*Hakl.*, p. 443). This island is usually sighted on the voyage from Astrakhan down the Caspian, and is marked on modern maps.

[2] Hatf. MS. has "Tuzke"; Helm. "Tirck". The place referred to, evidently Terki, is at the mouth of the Terek, where, in 1569, Ivan caused a fortress to be erected as a protection to his father-in-law Temruk, and to strengthen his own position in this country. This was probably the first Russian fortification in Caucasia. It occupied the site of the ancient fortress of Tumen, a name which also applied to the low-lying flat country to the north-west of the Caspian, spoken of by the Venetian envoy, Josapha Barbaro, as "the champaignes of Tumen". The fortress of Terki, four years after it was built, was demolished in deference to the wishes of Selim Sultan, of Turkey, but the place was chosen by Cossacks and other free lances from the Volga for their settlement, whence their name "Terek Cossacks". In 1586 the town was rebuilt and garrisoned by Streltsi, and from that time became an important base of operations for Russia in her advance southward. Owing to the fresh importance the place had assumed, its fortifications were strengthened in 1646, according to the most improved system of engineering in those days. But when Peter the Great returned from Derbend in 1723, the inhabitants of Terki were transferred to new fortresses, and the place was converted into a redoubt, garrisoned by 200 men. Terki appears on d'Anville's map of the Caspian as a ruined fort. It was visited towards the end of last century by Güldenstädt, the traveller, who found remains of the town wall still in existence.—Semeonof, art. "Terski".

[3] Shetly *head*, not island, is mentioned by C. Burrough (*Hakl.*, p. 449), and is probably the land sighted by Jenkinson, who did not approach within six miles of it, and might easily have mistaken the promontory for an island.

miles, the winde being contrary, and a stiffe gale, we were not able to seize it: but were forced to come to an anker to the leeward of the same sixe miles off in three or foure fathom water, being distant from the maine land to the Westward of vs, which was called *Skafcayll* or *Connyke*,[1] a countrey of Mahometans, about .[2] miles, and so riding at two ankers a head, hauing no other prouision, we lost one of them, the storme and sea being growne very sore, and thereby our barke was so full of leakes, that with continuall pumping, we had much a doe to keepe her aboue water, although we threw much of our goods ouerboord, with losse of our boate, and ourselues thereby in great danger like to haue perished either in the sea, or els vpon the lee shoare, where we should haue fallen into the handes of those wicked infidels, who attended our shipwracke: and surely it was very vnlike that we should haue escaped both the extremities, but onely

[1] Both MSS. have "Shalkaules". The name occurs in C. Burrough's narrative. He places it twenty-four miles north-north-west of Derbend. This country is now comprised within the military district (oblast) of Terek. It lies between the right bank of the Terek, the left of the Sulak, and the west coast of the Caspian, and is known as the Kumyk sub-district (okrug). On the south-west it extends to the Katchkalikof chain, an offset of the Caucasus range. It is a low-lying strip of level land bordering the Caspian, where rivers stop their courses before reaching the sea, and form numerous lakes and marshy tracts, breeding fevers, for which this region is notorious. Its inhabitants are chiefly Kumyks, a people of Turkish race, supposed by some to be the original stock which peopled this country and have since been replenished by Tartars and refugees. They lived under their own princes or Shamkhals (evidently the word in the text), to whom they paid tribute. They are all Sunni Mohammedans. Their wealth consists chiefly of cattle, especially sheep, but they also cultivate the soil and own vineyards. Their first relations with Russia date from 1559, when Aghim, prince of the Kumyks of Tumen, became her vassal. Afterwards, fortresses were built in their country. In 1604, the Kumyks rebelled, and obliged the Russian garrisons to leave: but in 1722, during Peter the Great's expedition against Persia, they renewed their allegiance, and are now completely subdued.—Semeonof art. "Kumyksky".

[2] A blank in both editions of Hakluyt and in the MSS.

by the power and mercy of God, for the storme continued seuen dayes, to wit, vntill the thirtieth day of the same moneth: and then the winde comming vp at the West with fayre weather, our anker weyed, and our saile displayed, lying South, the next day hailing to the shore with a West sunne, we were nigh a lande called by the inhabitantes *Shyruansha*,[1] and there we came againe to an anker, hauing the winde contrarie, being distant from the sayd *Shatalet* 150. miles, and there we continued vntill the third day of August, then hauing a fayre winde, winding Southsoutheast, and sailing threescore miles, the next day at a Southeast sunne we arriued at a citie called *Derbent* in the King of *Hyrcans* dominion, where comming to land, and saluting the captaine there with a present, he made to me and my company a dinner, and there taking fresh water I departed. The land of Shyruansha. Derbent.

This cītie of *Derbent*[2] is an ancient towne, hauing an olde

[1] *Shirvansha* (Shirvan) formed part of ancient Media, the modern Russian Government of Baku, and comprised the valleys of South-Eastern Caucasus, bordering with Georgia on the west, and bounded by the Caspian on the east; on the south it extended to the Kur. This country was once ruled by its own princes, but fell into the hands of Persia in the fourteenth century, and repeatedly changed its allegiance during the wars between that country and Turkey. The name is probably a compound of *Shir*, Persian for lion (according to Khanikof, lion holder or possessor of lions), and was sometimes applied to the Caspian.

[2] The well-known port of Derbend is picturesquely situated between the main range of the Caucasus and the Caspian. The town commands the only passage along the shore from north to south, and is enclosed within high and massive walls, with towers and battlements. Above stands the citadel, built, as Jenkinson describes, of fossiliferous limestone. Outside the walls to the south are vineyards three miles in extent. Derbend is said to have been founded by Kobad, a Persian monarch of the Sassanian line, and completed by his son, Naoshirwan the Just, *circa* 542 A.D. The town was built as a protection to Persia against the inroads of Khazars, and no finer situation could have been chosen for this purpose. Its name signifies in Persian, "barrier"; the Turks called it *Demir Kapi*, "Iron Gate", and the Arabs *Báb-el-Abwáb*, "Gate of Gates". Derbend has been for the most part a

castle therein, being situated vpon an hill called *Castowe* builded all of freestone much after our building, the walles very high and thicke, and was first erected by King Alexander the great, when he warred against the Persians and Medians, and then he made a wall of a woonderfull height and thickenesse, extending from the same citie of the Georgians, yea vnto the principall citie thereof named *Tewflish*,[1] which wall though it be now rased, or otherwise decayed, yet the foundation remayneth, and the wall was made to the intent that the inhabitants of that countrey then newly conquered by the said Alexander should not lightly flee, nor his enemies easily inuade. This citie of *Derbent* being now vnder the power of the Sophie of *Persia*, bordereth vpon the sea, adioyning to the foresaid land of *Shalfcall*, in the latitude of fortie one degrees. From thence sailing Southeast & Southsoutheast about 80. miles, the sixth day of August, the yeere aforesaid, we arriued at our

A mighty wall.

Or Tiphlis.

Fortie one degrees.

possession of Persia. In 1722, however, Peter the Great, profiting by the disorders in that country, captured this place and left a garrison in charge. But six years afterwards Derbend was seized by a neighbouring prince, who was, however, obliged to surrender it to Nadir Shah. In 1796 it was besieged by Russian forces and taken, but was not finally incorporated with Russia till after the Treaty of Gulistan, 1813. With reference to the tradition of Alexander the Great being its founder see next note.—*Semeonof;* Yule's *Marco Polo*, i, 55.

[1] Tiflis, founded *circa* 1063, capital of Georgia, stands on both banks of the Kur or Cyrus, and is the residence of the lieutenants of the Tzar in Transcaucasia. It is, perhaps, the most thriving and beautiful town in his dominions, south and north of the Caucasus. The wall mentioned in our text ran inland from Derbend along the ridges of the Caucasus, though how far, does not appear to be certain,—Richard Eden says thirteen days' journeys ; according to Klaproth's extracts from the *Derbend nameh*, it extended to the Dariel pass. Eichwald followed it for twelve miles. Every half mile, substantial towers, crested with battlements, were erected upon it. Tradition ascribes it to Alexander the Great, who built it to shut up the Tartars, the Gog and Magog of the Scriptures, and it bears the title of Sadd-i-Iskandar, the rampart of Alexander.—Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., ii, p. 537.

landing place called *Shabran*[1], where my barke discharged the goods layd on shore, and there being in my tent keeping great watch for feare of rouers, whereof there is great plenty, being field people, the gouernor of the sayd countrey named *Alcan Murcy*,[2] comming vnto me, intertayned me very gently, vnto whom giuing a present, he appointed for my safegard fortie armed men to watch and ward me, vntil he might haue newes from the king of *Shyruan*. The 12. day of the same moneth newes did come from the king, with order that I should repayre vnto him with all speed: and for expedition, as well camels to the number of fiue and fortie to cary my goodes, as also horses for me and my company were in readinesse, so that the goods laden, and taking my iourney from thence the said twelft day, on the 18. of the same moneth, I came to a citie called *Shamackye*,[3] in the said countrey of *Hyrcan*, otherwise called *Shyruan*, and there the

Shabran.

Alcan Murcy the gouernor.

[1] Shabran's Khali (fort) is marked on Monteith's map of Georgia and Armenia; on Khatow's, scale 1:840000, it appears as Izabran-Kaleh, on a small river, the Izabran, falling into the Caspian not far from Nizabad; and on Koch's map of the Caucasus. Its position, however, seems to have been fixed by d'Anville (see his atlas and map of the Caspian) on the coast of Daghestan, about midway between Derbend and Baku. It was in the district of Kuba, and is referred to by the Arabic author, Chakany, who, speaking of an invasion of Khazars, says, apostrophising their sovereign, "Thou madest of Derbend a hell, and causedst the lamentations of Shabran" (*Dorn*, p. 305). Angiolello mentions it as an unwalled city four days' march from Derbend.—See *Zeno*, Hakl. Soc., pp. 49, 57; *Angiolello*, *ib.*, p. 113.

[2] Ali Khan Murza.

[3] Shamakye (Shemakha). There were two towns of this name—Old and New. The former, Old Shemakha, seen by Jenkinson, was destroyed by Nadir Shah in 1740, and is now a heap of ruins. New Shemakha, about twelve miles S.E. of the old town, marked by some ruins about a mile from the post station of Aksu, suffered terribly from earthquakes, and the seat of government was therefore removed in 1859 to Baku. The country round Shemakha produced the best silk, but the climate was hot and unhealthy.—Dorn, *Uber die einfälle der alten Russen in Tabaristan*, p. 121; *Schiltberger*, in Hakl. Soc., p. 45.

king hath a fayre place, where my lodging being appointed, the goods were discharged: the next day being the 19. day, I
King Obdolowcan. was sent for to come to the king named *Obdolowcan*,[1] who kept his court at that time in the high mountaines in tents, distant from the said *Shamackye* twentie miles, to auoid the iniury of the heat: and the 20. day I came before his presence,[2] who gently interteyned me, and hauing kissed his handes, he had me to dinner, and commanded me to sit
The maiestie & attyre of King Obdolowcan. downe not farre from him. This king did sit in a very rich pauilion wrought with silke and golde placed very pleasantly, vpon a hill side, of sixteene fathom long, and sixe fathom broad, hauing before him a goodly fountaine of faire water: whereof he and his nobilitie did drinke, he being a prince of a meane stature, and of a fierce countenance, richly apparelled with long garments of silke, and cloth of golde, imbrodered with pearles and stone: vpon his head was a tolipane[3] with a sharpe end standing vpwards halfe a yard long, of rich cloth of golde, wrapped about with a piece of India silk of twentie yards long, wrought with golde, and on the left side of his tolipane stood a plume of fethers, set in a trunke of golde richly inameled, and set with precious stones: his earerings had pendants of golde a handfull long, with two great rubies of great value, set in the ends thereof: all the ground within his pauilion was couered with rich carpets, and vnder himselfe was spred a square carpet wrought with siluer & gold, & therevpon was laid two sutable cushions. Thus the king with his nobilitie sitting in his pauillion with his legs acrosse, and perceiuing that it was

[1] Abdullah Khan, King of Shirvan. His death, on the 2nd of December 1565, mentioned by Arthur Edwards, was a great loss to the English traders, towards whom he was favourably disposed. See Edwards' letter to the Russia Company.—*Hakl.*, p. 377.

[2] Both MSS. add: "with a gifte".

[3] Turban. The Turkish, Persian, and Russian word "tolipan", or "tulpan", means a tulip. From its similarity in shape to the flower, the Eastern head-dress came to be called by the same word.

painefull for me so to sit, his highnesse caused a stoole to be brought in, and did will me to sit thereupon, after my fashion. Dinner time then approching, diuers clothes were spred vpon the ground, and sundry dishes serued, and set in a ranke with diuers kindes of meats, to the number of 140. dishes as I numbered them, which being taken away with the table clothes, and others spred, a banket of fruites of sundry kindes, with other banketting meates to the number of 150. dishes, were brought in: so that the two seruices occupyed 290. dishes, and at the end of the said dinner & banket, the king said vnto me *Quoshe quelde*,[1] that is to say, welcome: and called for a cup of water to be drawen at a fountaine, and tasting thereof, did deliuer me the rest, demanding how I did like the same, and whether there were so good in our countrey or not: vnto whom I answered in such sort, that he was therewith contented: then he proponed vnto me sundry questions, both touching religion, and also the state of our countryes, and further questioned whether the Emperour of *Almaine*, the Emperour of *Russia*, or the great Turke, were of most power, with many other things too long heere to rehearse, to whom I answered as I thought most meet. Then he demanded whether I intended to goe any further, and the cause of my comming: vnto that I answered, that I was sent with letters from the Queenes most excellent Maiesty of England, vnto the great Sophie, to intreat friendshippe and free passage, and for his safeconduct to be granted vnto English merchants to trade into his Segniories, with the like also to be granted to his subiectes, when they should come into our countryes, to the honour and wealth of both realmes, and commoditie of both theyr subiects, with diuers other words, which I omit to rehearse. This said king much allowing this declaration, said he would

The Queenes letters to the Sophie.

[1] *Khúsh geldi*, Turk., *i.e.*, "welcome", literally "thou art come happily". Pietro delle Valle says Turkish was much spoken in Persia. --*Pinkerton*, ix, 14.

not only giue me passage, but also men to safeconduct me vnto the sayd Sophie, lying from the foresaid citie of *Shamakye* thirtie days iourney, vp into the land of Persia, at a castle called *Casbin*[1]: so departing from the king at that time, within three dayes after, being the foure and twentie day of August the yeere aforesayd, he sent for me againe: vnto whom I repayred in the morning, and the king not being risen out of his bedde (for his maner is, that watching in the night, and then banketting with his women, being a hundred and fortie in number, he sleepeth most in the day) did give one commandement that I should ride an hawking with many Gentlemen of his Court: and that they should shew me so much game and pastime as might be, which was done, and many cranes killed: we returned from hawking[2] about three of the clocke at the afternoone. The king then risen, and ready to dinner, I was inuited thereunto, and approching nigh to the entring in of his tent, and being in his sight twǫ gentlemen incountred me with two garmentes of that countrey fashion, side down to the ground, the one of silke, and the other of silke and golde, sent vnto me from the king, and, after that they caused me to put off my vpper garment, being a gowne of blacke veluet furred with Sables, they put the sayd two garments vpon my backe, and so conducted me vnto the king, before whom doing reuerence, and kissing his hand, he commanded me to sit not farre from him, and so I dined in his presence; he at that time being

Casbin.

Multitude of concubines.

[1] *Casbin* (Kazvin), now a miserable place, falling rapidly into decay, is seven days' journey east of Tabriz, on the road to Teheran. Delle Valle says that Kazvin continued to be the chief city of Persia till Shah Abbas took an aversion to it, and removed his court to Ispahan (*Pinkerton*, ix, 72). Olearius remarks that it contained 100,000 inhabitants in 1637. Glazed tiles, of some beauty in design and colour, occasionally found among its ruins, are the only traces of its having once been the residence of Persian sovereigns.

[2] Hawking was a favourite pastime of the Kings of Shirvan. Ivan III, Grand Duke of Muscovy, sent ninety falcons as a present to an earlier King of Shirvan.—*Athanasius Nikitin*, in Hakl. Soc., p. 4.

very merry, and demanding of me many questions, and amongst other, how I liked the maner of theyr hawking. Dinner so ended, I required his highnesse safeconduct for to depart towards the Sophie, who dismissing me with great fauour, and appointing his Ambassadour (which returned out of Russia) and others, to safeconduct me, he gaue me, at my departure, a fayre horse with all furniture, and custome free from thence with all my goods. So I returned to *Shamakye* againe, where I remayned vntill the sixt of October, to prouide camels, horses, and other necessaries for my intended iourney.

The description of Hyrcania.

But now before I proceed further, I purpose to write something of this countrey of *Hyrcan*,[1] now called *Shyruan*, with the townes and commodities of the same. This countrey of *Hyrcan* in times past was of great renowne, hauing many cities, townes, and castles in it: and the kings thereof in time of antiquitie were of great power, able to make warres with the Sophies of Persia: but now it is not onely otherwise (for that the cities, townes and castles be decayed) but also the king is subiect to the sayd Sophie (although they have their proper king), and be at the commandement of the sayd Sophie, who conquered them not many yeeres passed, for theyr diuersitie in religion, and caused not onely all the nobilitie and gentlemen of that countrey to be put to death, but also ouer and besides, rased the walles of the cities, townes, and castles of the said realme, to the intent that there should be no rebellion, & for theyr

Danger by diuersitie in religion.

[1] Hyrcania is a misnomer for this country, Shirvan having answered to the ancient Media Atropatene, the modern Russian Government of Shemakha, or Baku; while Hyrcania lay to the south-east of the Caspian, probably represented by the modern Persian province of Mazanderan (*Zeno*, in Hakl. Soc., p. 49, note). That erroneous ideas prevailed regarding these Caspian countries in those times is evident from the allusion in Milton to the "Hyrcanian cliffs of Caucasus". In Ptolemy's time, however, the Caspian Sea was known as Mare Hyrcanum.—*Paradise Regain'd*, Book III, line 317.

great terrour, caused a turret of free stone and flints to be erected in the sayd citie called *Shamakye*,[1] and in a ranke of flints of the sayd turret did set the heads of the sayd nobilitie and gentlemen, then executed[2]: this citie is distant from the sea side, with camels seuen dayes iourney, but now the same being much decayed, and chieflie inhabited with Armenians, another citie called *Arrash*,[3] bordering vpon the Georgians, is the chiefest and most oppulent in the trade of merchandize; and thereabouts is nourished the most abundant growth of raw silke, and thither the Turkes, Syrians, and other strangers do resort and traffike. There be also diuers good and necessarie commodities to be prouided and had in this said realme: *videlizet*, galles, rough and smooth, cotten wooll, allome and raw silke of the naturall growth of that countrey. Besides, neere all kinde of spices and drugges, and some other commodities, which are brought thither from out of East India, but in the lesse quantitie, for that they be not assured to have vent or vtterance of the same; but the chiefest commodities there, be raw silkes of all sortes, whereof there is great plenty. Not farre from the sayd citie of

Barbarous crueltie.

The citie of Arrash.

The commodities of this countrey.

[1] *Ante*, pp. 98, 131.

[2] Olearius made particular inquiries as to the truth of this story, which he attributes to John Cartwright, an English traveller in Persia, who borrows largely from Hakluyt, but found no foundation for it. He confirms, however, our author's statement regarding the ruined castle or fortress of Gulistan, with its neighbouring convent and traditions. He is of opinion that the name Gulistan, signifying "flower garden", was derived from the adjacent valley, which is remarkably beautiful. This name is not uncommon in Persia, being given to any place of more than ordinary attractions.—*Travels of the Holstein Embassy in Moscovy and Tartary* (Paris, 1656), p. 273; *The Preacher's Travels*, in the Earl of Oxford's collection, vol. i, p. 726.

[3] Arrash is marked Aresh on the transcript of the Russian map of Georgia, by Khatow (1826). It stood on the highroad from Baku to Tiflis, near the river Kur, in swampy ground. The unhealthiness of the place caused the deaths of Banister, Lawrence, Chapman, and other Englishmen. Cartwright, in the work just quoted, mentions the city of Arasse, and says he was six days travelling thence to Tabriz; but he is a plagiarist.—*Cf.* Monteith's map, R.G.S.

Shamakye, there was an old Castle called *Gullistone,*[1] now beaten down by this Sophie,[2] which was esteemed to be one of the strongest castles in the world, and was besieged by Alexander the great, long time before he could winne it. And not farre from the said castle was a Nunnery of sumptuos building wherin was buried a kinges daughter, named *Amelecke Channa,*[3] who slew herselfe with a knife, for that her father would have forced her (she professing chastitie) to haue married with a king of Tartary, vpon which occasion the maidens of that countrey doe resort thither once euery yere to lament her death. The strong castle of Gullistone defaced.

Also in the said countrey there is a high hill called *Quiquiffs,*[4] upon the toppe whereof (as it is commonly reported) did dwell a great Giant, named *Arneoste,* hauing vpon his head two great hornes, and eares, and eyes like a horse, and a tayle like a cowe. It is further said, that this monster

[1] Gulistan is marked as a castle close to Old Shemakha, on Karte v. d. Kaukasischen Isthmus v. Dr. Karl Koch. Angiolello relates that when Shah Ismail attacked Serman-kuli, King of Shirvan, in 1509, his captains found Shemakha deserted, the King having fled to the strong castle of *Culustan;* and another contemporary traveller says this castle was cut out of the solid rock and deemed to be impregnable.—*Angiolello,* in Hakl. Soc., p. 112 ; and *ib.,* p. 189.

[2] Ismail Sufi, not Shah Tahmasp, was the conqueror of Shirvan and Georgia (see preceding note).

[3] *Khanum,* Pers. for "lady". The shrine of the chaste Amelek was no longer an object of adoration in the time of Olearius, but the inhabitants resorted thither in numbers, to escape the sultry heat of the valley below. (See Olearius, *Travels, etc.,* p. 274.) Captain Telfer says these Virgin's castles (*Kiz-kalessi,* or *Kiz kaleh,* identical in meaning), with their strange legends, are not uncommon in the East, and mentions several instances of them. (See *Travels of Johann Schiltberger,* in Hakl. Soc., p. 149.) The last part of this tradition reminds us of Jephtha's daughter, *Judges* xi, 40.

[4] From the fortress of Gulistan, Olearius obtained a view of Mount Elbruz, probably the "high hill" of our text. The name here given for this mountain bears a resemblance to that by which the Caucasus is known to the inhabitants—*Kav Kaz* (*Olearius,* p. 275), and the traditions connected with Elbruz from the earliest times, round off the simile.—See Ker Porter's *Travels,* p. 128.

miles, the winde being contrary, and a stiffe gale, we were not able to seize it: but were forced to come to an anker to the leeward of the same sixe miles off in three or foure fathom water, being distant from the maine land to the Westward of vs, which was called *Skafcayll* or *Connyke*,[1] a countrey of Mahometans, about .[2] miles, and so riding at two ankers a head, hauing no other prouision, we lost one of them, the storme and sea being growne very sore, and thereby our barke was so full of leakes, that with continuall pumping, we had much a doe to keepe her aboue water, although we threw much of our goods ouerboord, with losse of our boate, and ourselues thereby in great danger like to haue perished either in the sea, or els vpon the lee shoare, where we should haue fallen into the handes of those wicked infidels, who attended our shipwracke: and surely it was very vnlike that we should haue escaped both the extremities, but onely

[1] Both MSS. have "Shalkaules". The name occurs in C. Burrough's narrative. He places it twenty-four miles north-north-west of Derbend. This country is now comprised within the military district (oblast) of Terek. It lies between the right bank of the Terek, the left of the Sulak, and the west coast of the Caspian, and is known as the Kumyk sub-district (okrug). On the south-west it extends to the Katchkalikof chain, an offset of the Caucasus range. It is a low-lying strip of level land bordering the Caspian, where rivers stop their courses before reaching the sea, and form numerous lakes and marshy tracts, breeding fevers, for which this region is notorious. Its inhabitants are chiefly Kumyks, a people of Turkish race, supposed by some to be the original stock which peopled this country and have since been replenished by Tartars and refugees. They lived under their own princes or Shamkhals (evidently the word in the text), to whom they paid tribute. They are all Sunni Mohammedans. Their wealth consists chiefly of cattle, especially sheep, but they also cultivate the soil and own vineyards. Their first relations with Russia date from 1559, when Aghim, prince of the Kumyks of Tumen, became her vassal. Afterwards, fortresses were built in their country. In 1604, the Kumyks rebelled, and obliged the Russian garrisons to leave: but in 1722, during Peter the Great's expedition against Persia, they renewed their allegiance, and are now completely subdued.—Semeonof art. "Kumyksky".

[2] A blank in both editions of Hakluyt and in the MSS.

by the power and mercy of God, for the storme continued seuen dayes, to wit, vntill the thirtieth day of the same moneth: and then the winde comming vp at the West with fayre weather, our anker weyed, and our saile displayed, lying South, the next day hailing to the shore with a West sunne, we were nigh a lande called by the inhabitantes *Shyruansha*,[1] and there we came againe to an anker, hauing the winde contrarie, being distant from the sayd *Shatalet* 150. miles, and there we continued vntill the third day of August, then hauing a fayre winde, winding Southsoutheast, and sailing threescore miles, the next day at a Southeast sunne we arriued at a citie called *Derbent* in the King of *Hyrcans* dominion, where comming to land, and saluting the captaine there with a present, he made to me and my company a dinner, and there taking fresh water I departed.

The land of Shyruansha.

Derbent.

This citie of *Derbent*[2] is an ancient towne, hauing an olde

[1] *Shirvansha* (Shirvan) formed part of ancient Media, the modern Russian Government of Baku, and comprised the valleys of South-Eastern Caucasus, bordering with Georgia on the west, and bounded by the Caspian on the east; on the south it extended to the Kur. This country was once ruled by its own princes, but fell into the hands of Persia in the fourteenth century, and repeatedly changed its allegiance during the wars between that country and Turkey. The name is probably a compound of *Shir*, Persian for lion (according to Khanikof, lion holder or possessor of lions), and was sometimes applied to the Caspian.

[2] The well-known port of Derbend is picturesquely situated between the main range of the Caucasus and the Caspian. The town commands the only passage along the shore from north to south, and is enclosed within high and massive walls, with towers and battlements. Above stands the citadel, built, as Jenkinson describes, of fossiliferous limestone. Outside the walls to the south are vineyards three miles in extent. Derbend is said to have been founded by Kobad, a Persian monarch of the Sassanian line, and completed by his son, Naoshirwan the Just, *circa* 542 A.D. The town was built as a protection to Persia against the inroads of Khazars, and no finer situation could have been chosen for this purpose. Its name signifies in Persian, "barrier"; the Turks called it *Demir Kapi*, "Iron Gate", and the Arabs *Báb-el-Abwáb*, "Gate of Gates". Derbend has been for the most part a

many miles it is towards the East from *Colmogro*, it will be a great helpe for vs to finde out the straight and passage that way, if any be there to be had.

WILLIAM GERRARD, } Gouernors.
THOMAS LODGE, }
WILLIAM MERRIKE.
BLASE SANDERS.

from the Sophie almost to the sayd Citie of *Tauris*, which the sayd Turke once sacked, and thereby caused the Sophie to forsake the same, and to keepe his court ten dayes iourney from thence, at the sayd Citie of *Casbin*.

The 21. day wee departed from *Ordowill* aforesaid, trauelling for the most part ouer mountaines all in the night season and resting in the day, being destitute of wood, and therefore were forced to vse for fewell the dung of horses and camels, which we bought deare of the pasturing people. Thus passing ten dayes iourney the yeare aforesayd, the second day of Nouember we arriued at the foresayd Citie of *Casben*, where the sayd Sophie keepeth his court, and were appoynted to a lodging not farre from the kings pallace, and within two dayes after the Sophie commaunded a prince called *Shallie Murzey*,[1] sonne to *Obdolowcan* king of *Shiruan* aforesayd, to send for me to his house, who asked me in the name of the sayd Sophie how I did, and whither I were in health, and after did welcome me, and inuited me to dinner, whereat I had great entertainment, and so from thence I returned to my lodging. The next day after I sent my interpreter vnto the Sophies Secretarie, declaring that I had letters directed from our most gracious Soueraigne ladie the Queenes most excellent maiestie of the Realme of England, vnto the sayd Sophie, and that the cause of my comming was expressed in the same letters, desiring that at conuenient time I might come into his maiesties presence, who aduertising the Sophie thereof, shortly after answered mee that there were great affaires in hand: Which being finished,

M. Ienkinsons arriual at the Sophies court. 2 Nouember 1562.

denuding the country of supplies. The Turks were at length obliged to retreat, but were overtaken and defeated by the Persian general near Bitlis.—*Krusinski*, p. 21.

[1] Shah Ali Murza, son of Abdullah Khan, King of Shirvan, was rightful heir to the throne upon the death of his father, but he does not seem to have been confirmed in his sovereignty by the Shah. (See Edwards's letter, *Hakl.*, p. 377.)

I should come before his presence, willing mee in the meane time to make readie my present if I had any to deliuer.

The Turkes Ambassadour to the Sophie.

At this time the great Turkes Ambassadour[1] arriued foure dayes before my comming, who was sent thither to conclude a perpetuall peace betwixt the same great Turke and the Sophie, and brought with him a present in gold and faire horses, with rich furnitures and other giftes esteemed to be woorth fortie thousand pound. And thereupon a peace was concluded with ioyfull feastes, triumphs and solemnities, corroborated with strong othes, by their lawe of *Alkaran*, for either to obserue the same, and to liue alwayes after as sworne brethren, ayding the one the other agaynst all princes that should warre agaynst them, or eyther of them. And vpon this conclusion the Sophie caused the great Turkes sonne named *Baiset Soltan*, a valiaunt prince (who beyng fled from his father vnto the Sophie, had remayned in his court the space of foure yeeres) to bee put to death. In which time the sayd Turkes sonne had caused mortall warres betwixt the sayd princes, and much preuailed therein: The Turke demaunded therefore his sonne to bee sent vnto him, and the Sophie refused thereunto to consent. But now being slaine according to the Turkes will, the Sophie sent him his head for a present, not a little desired, and acceptable to the vnnaturall father.[2] Discoursing at my first arriuall with the

[1] This ambassador was Hassan Agha.

[2] Knolles, a contemporary historian, gives full particulars of this embassy, and of the death of Bajazet. The circumstances were these:—Bajazet, a brave and energetic prince, had offended his father, who suspected him of ambitious designs with regard to the succession, which he intended for his favourite son, Selim. Bajazet, to save his life and the lives of his children, fled in 1556 to Persia, and took refuge with Shah Tahmasp, his father's enemy. He was at first well treated at the Persian Court, but after awhile Tamasp became irritated against him, and threw him into prison. Solyman, meanwhile, had never ceased urging the surrender of Bajazet, but unsuccessfully, till at length he found that Tahmasp was open to a bribe, and would consent to the death of his prisoner, though refusing to give him up

king of *Shiruan* of sundry matters, and being intertained as hath bene before declared, the sayd king named *Obdolocan*, demaunding whether that wee of England had friendship with the Turkes or not, I answered that we neuer had friendship with them, and that therefore they would not suffer vs to passe through their countrie into the Sophie his dominions, and that there is a nation named the Venetians, not farre distant from vs, which are in great league with the sayd Turkes,[1] who trade into his dominions with our commodities chiefly to barter the same for rawe silkes, which (as wee vnderstand) come from thence: and that if it would please the sayde Sophie and other princes of that countrey, to suffer our merchaunts to trade into those dominions, and

alive. Hassan Agha, a trusted agent, was sent to Persia, visited the prison in which the unfortunate Bajazet was confined, and recognised in him his playfellow of former years. Having communicated to Solyman the results of this interview, he was commissioned to strangle Bajazet with his own hands, an order which he executed with revolting brutality, refusing the wretched man's prayer to take leave of his children. Bajazet's three sons, also at Kazvin, were bowstrung in the same way, while his fourth son, an infant at Brussa, suffered the same fate. The circumstances attending his death recall to mind the murder of the young princes in the Tower, for it is recorded by Knolles that, when the miscreant hired to do the bloody deed entered the room, the child threw his arms about his neck, and so melted his heart that he was found lying in a swoon by his intended victim's side, another having to discharge his bloody task. This murder was justified by Solyman on grounds of policy, or, as Knolles quaintly puts it, "lest of an evil bird might come an evil chick".—Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes*, p. 781.

[1] This is hardly correct. Venice had for nearly a century been negotiating with the Kings of Persia to attack Turkey, promising assistance with arms and ships to induce Persia to make war and weaken the power of the Turks, which was then at its zenith. The Venetians had by this time lost their maritime supremacy in the Levant and Black Sea, where the trade was mostly in the hands of Genoese. It was doubtless with the view of regaining their former position in the East that the Republic exerted itself strenuously to bring about a coalition against Turkey. (See *Travels of Venetians*, in Hakl. Soc., *passim*.)

to give vs passeport and safe conduct for the same, as the sayde Turke hath graunted to the sayde Venetians, I doubted not but that it should growe to such a trade, to the profite of them, as neuer before had bene the like, and that they should bee both furnished with our commodities, and also haue vtterance of theirs, although there neuer came Turke into their land, perswading with many other wordes for a trade to be had. This king vnderstanding the matter liked it marueilously, saying, that hee would write vnto the Sophie concerning the same; as he did in very deede, assuring me that the Sophie would graunt my request, & that at my returne vnto him he would giue me letters of safe conduct, and priuiledges.[1] The Turkes Ambassadour was not then come into the land, neither any peace hoped to be concluded, but great preparation was made for warre which was like much to haue furthered my purpose, but it chanced otherwise. For the Turkes Ambassadour being arriued and the peace concluded, the Turkish merchants there at that time present, declared to the same Ambassadour, that my comming thither (naming mee by the name of Franke) would in great part destroy their trade, and that it should bee good for him to perswade the Sophie not to fauour me, as his highnesse ment to obserue the league and friendship with the great Turke his master, which request of the Turkish merchants, the same Ambassadour earnestly preferred, and being afterwards dismissed with great honour hee departed out of the Realme with the Turkes sonnes head as aforesayd, and other presents.

The Turkes merchaunts withstand M. Ienkinson.

The 20. day of Nouember aforesayd, I was sent for to

[1] Jenkinson's instructions (*ante*, p. 117) were to endeavour to divert part of the Levantine trade into another channel, in order that England might make use of her new relations with Russia to open a new trade route by way of the Volga and Caspian to India. His want of success on this occasion appears to have been chiefly due to Turkish influences, which were just then paramount in Persia.

come before the sayd Sophie, otherwise called *Shaw Thamas*,[1] and about three of the clocke at after noone I came to the court, and in the lighting from my horse at the court gate before my feete touched the ground, a paire of the Sophies owne shoes termed in the Persian tongue (*Basmackes*),[2] such as hee himself weareth when he ariseth in the night to pray (as his maner is) were put vpon my feete, for without the same shoes I might not be suffered to tread vpon his holy ground,—being a Christian, and called amongst them *Gower*,[3] that is, vnbeleeuer, and vncleane: esteeming all to bee infidels and Pagans which doe not beleeue as they doe, in their false filthie prophets *Mahomet* and *Murtezallie*.[4] At the sayde court gate the things that I brought to present his maiestie with, were deuided by sundry parcels to sundry seruitors of the court to cary before me, for none of my companie or seruaunts might be suffered to enter into the court with me, my interpreter onely excepted. Thus comming before his maiestie with such reuerence as I thought meete to bee vsed, I deliuered the Queenes maiesties letters with my present, which he accepting, demaunded of me of what countrey of Franks I was, and what affaires I had there to do: vnto whom I answered that I was of the famous Citie of London within the noble realme of England, and that I was sent

Shaw Thamas the Sophies name.

The Queenes letters deliuered.

[1] Shah Tahmasp, eldest son of Shah Ismail Sofi, succeeded to the throne upon the death of his father in 1524. He reigned till 1576, when he died. The character of this prince has been drawn by a contemporary, the Venetian envoy, Vincentio d'Alessandri. He describes him as a selfish, avaricious tyrant, engrossed in his own pleasures, with no inclination for war, though vain and boastful. Descended in a direct line from Ali, son-in-law of Mahomet, he was revered, almost worshipped, by the fanatical Shiah Persians. He was of medium stature, but well formed, dark in face, with thick lips and grisly beard. Shah Tahmasp's grandson was the renowned Shah Abbas the Great.—See *d'Alessandri*, in Hakl. Soc., pp. 211-229.

[2] Almost identical with the Russian word *bashmaki*, shoes.

[3] Giaour. Shamil's Murids called the Russians "Sarigiaours", *i.e.*, yellow infidels.—*Dorn*, p. 190.

[4] Murteza Ali, son-in-law of Mahomet.

thither from the most excellent and gracious soueraigne Ladie *Elizabeth*, Queene of the sayd Realme, for to treate of friendship, and free passage of our merchaunts and people, to repaire and traffique within his dominions, for to bring in our commodities, and to carrie away theirs, to the honour of both princes, the mutual commoditie of both realmes, and wealth of the subiects, with other words here omitted. He then demaunded me in what language the letters were written, I answered, in the Latine, Italian, and Hebrew: well sayd he, we haue none within our realme that vnderstand those tongues. Whereunto I answered that such a famous and woorthie Prince (as hee was) wanted not people of all nations within his large dominions to interprete the same.

The Sophies questions.

Then he questioned with me of the state of our countries, and of the power of the Emperour of Almaine, King Philip, and the great Turke,[1] and which of them was of most power: whom I answered to his contentation, not dispraysing the great Turke, their late concluded friendship considered. Then he reasoned with me much of religion, demaunding whether I were a *Gower*, that is to say, an vnbeleeuer, or a *Muselman*, that is, of Mahomets lawe. Vnto whom I answered, that I was neither vnbeleeuer nor Mahometan, but a Christian. What is that sayd hee vnto the king of Georgians sonne,[2] who being a Christian was fled vnto the sayd Sophie, and hee answered that a Christian was he that beleeueth in *Iesus*

[1] Ferdinand I, Philip II of Spain, and Solyman the magnificent, at that time the most powerful princes in Europe.

[2] Luarsab I, King of Eastern Georgia, dying in 1558, left two sons, Simon and David, between whom he divided his dominions. But as neither of them was content with his share, they declared war against each other, and both solicited assistance of Tahmasp. The youngest happening to apply first, Tahmasp answered that he would give him all his father's territories provided he would turn Muhammadan. David embraced this proposal, joined the Persian army, and was sent to Kazvin, where our traveller saw him.—Chardin, *Voy. en Perse*, i, p. 174.

Christus, affirming him to bee the sonne of God, and the greatest prophet: Doest thou beleeue so sayd the Sophie vnto mee: Yea that I doe sayd I: Oh thou vnbeleeuer sayd he, we haue no neede to haue friendship with the vnbeleeuers, and so willed mee to depart. I being glad thereof did reuerence and went my way, being accompanied with many of his gentlemen and others, and after mee followed a man with a Basanet[1] of sand, sifting all the way that I had gone within the said pallace, euen from the sayd Sophies sight vnto the court gate.

Thus I repaired againe vnto my lodging, and the sayd night *Shally Murzey*[2] sonne to the king of *Hircane* aforesayd, who fauoured mee very much for that I was commended vnto him from his father, willed me not to doubt of any thing, putting me in hope that I should haue good successe with the Sophie, and good intertainment. The curtiesie of Shally Murzey.

Thus I continued for a time, daily resorting vnto me diuers gentlemen sent by the Sophie to conferre with me, especially touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, and to know by what way I intended to returne into my countrey, either by the way that I came, or by the way of *Ormus*,[3] and so

[1] Old English, a little basin.

[2] Shah Ali Murza, *ante*, p. 141.

[3] Ormuz was a month or six weeks' journey from Kazvin on camels This island belonged to the Portuguese, and was reputed to be of fabulous wealth. Abdul Rezak, Shah Rokh's envoy, describes it in glowing terms on visiting it in 1442. The Moorish proverb ran, "The world is a ring, and the jewel in it is Ormuz"; and Milton says, "outshone the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind (*Paradise Lost*, Bk. II, line 2). In 1507, the great Afonzo Dalboquerque took Ormuz for his sovereign, Don Manuel, after an action which holds a high place among Portuguese annals. For upwards of a century Ormuz remained a Portuguese possession, till it fell into the hands of the Persians, having surrendered to the East India Company's fleet in 1622. On this occasion William Baffin, the navigator, received his death wound. Ever since, Ormuz has remained desolate. — See *Commentaries of Afonzo Dalboquerque* (Hakl. Soc.), i, pp. 105-123, and iv, p. 186; *Baffin's Voyages* (Hakl. Soc.), pp. xlv and 156.

with the Portingals shippes. Vnto whom I answered, that I durst not returne by the way of *Ormus*, the Portingals and wee not being friends, fully perceiuing their meaning: for I was aduertised that the sayde Sophie meant to haue warres with the Portingals, and would haue charged me that I had bene come for a spie to passe through his dominions vnto the said Portingals, thinking them and vs to bee all one people, and calling all by the name of Franks, but by the prouidence of God this was preuented.

Warres intended against the Portingals.

After this the sayd Sophie conferred with his nobilitie and counsell concerning me, who perswaded, that he should not entertaine me well, neither dismisse me with letters or gifts, considering that I was a Franke, and of that nation that was enemie to the great Turke his brother, perswading that if hee did otherwise, and that the newes thereof should come to the knowledge of the Turke, it should be a meane to breake their new league and friendship lately concluded: disswading further because hee had no neede, neither that it was requisite for him to haue friendship with vnbeleeuers, whose countreys lay farre from him, and that it was best for him to send mee with my letters vnto the sayde great Turke for a present, which he was fully determined to haue done at some meete time, meaning to send his Ambassadour vnto the sayd great Turke very shortly after.

But the king of *Hircanes*[1] sonne aforesayd, vnderstanding this deliberation, sent a man in post vnto his father, for to declare and impart the purpose vnto him, who as a gracious prince, considering that I had passed through his dominions, and that I had iourneyed for a good intent, did write to the Sophie[2] all that which hee vnderstood of his sayd determination, and that it should not stand with his maiesties honour to doe me any harme or displeasure, but rather to giue mee good entertainment, seeing I was come into his

The King of Hircanes second letter in M. Ienkinsons behalfe.

[1] *I.e.*, the King of Shirvan's son, *ante*, p. 141.

[2] Hatf. MS. adds: "with all spede".

land of my free will, and not by constraint, and that if hee vsed me euill, there would few straungers resort into his countrey, which would be greatly vnto his hinderance, with many other perswasions: which after that the sayd Sophie had well and throughly pondered and disgested (much esteeming the same king of Hircane, beyng one of the valiantest princes vnder him and his nigh kinseman) changed his determined purpose, and the 20. day of March 1562.[1] he sent me a rich garment of cloth of gold, and so dismissed me without any harme.

During the time that I soiourned at the sayd citie of *Casbin*, diuers merchaunts out of India came thither vnto mee, with whom I conferred for a trade of spices: whereunto they answered that they would bring of all sortes so much as wee would haue, if they were sure of vent, whereof I did promise to assure them, so that I doubt not but that great abundance thereof may from time to time be there prouided and had.[2] Conference with Indian merchants.

The same twentith day of March I returned from the sayd citie of *Casbin*, where I remayned all the Winter, hauing sent away all my cammels before, and the thirtieth day I came to the sayde Citie of *Ordowill*, and the fifteenth of Aprill vnto *Zauaut*[3] aforesayde, where king *Obdolowcan* was at that present, who immediately sent for mee, and demaunding of mee many questions, declared that if it had not bene for him, I had bene vtterly cast away, and sent to the great Turke for a present by the Sophie, through the euill perswasion of his wicked counsell, and that the *Zieties*[4] and M. Ienkinsons returne.

[1] 1563, in Hatf. MS.; Helm. MS. has 1562. According to the Julian calendar, then in use, the year ended on the 30th March, and therefore 1562 is correct.

[2] It appears from a letter of Edwards' that the trade in spices was in the hands of Armenian merchants, who bartered with the Venetians at Aleppo.—*Hakl.*, p. 381.

[3] Jevat, lat. 39° 59′ N., long. 48° 25′ E., *ante*, p. 128.

[4] Probably intended for "Tiziks", as Persian merchants were called in Astrakhan. See *Purchas*, iii, 245, line 46.

holy men were the chiefe and principall procurers and moouers thereof: but the Sophie himselfe meant mee much good at the first, and thought to haue giuen me good entertainement, and so had done, had not the peace and league fortuned to haue bene concluded betweene them and the great Turke. Neuerthelesse, sayd hee, the Sophie hath written vnto me to entertaine you well, and you are welcome into my countrey, and so hee intreated mee very gently, in whose court I remayned seuen dayes, and obteined of him letters of safe-conductes and priuiledges in your names to be free from paying custome, which I deliuered vnto your seruaunts Thomas Alcocke and George Wren, at their departure towards Persia for your affaires:[1] and his highnesse did giue mee two garments of silke, and so dismissed me with great fauour, sending with me his Ambassadour againe vnto the Emperour of Russia, and committed the chiefest secrete of his affayres vnto mee, to declare the same vnto the Emperours maiestie at my returne: and thus departing the tenth day of Aprill, I came to the Citie of *Shamachie*, and there remayning certaine dayes for prouision of cammels downe to the Sea side, I sent from thence before, men to repayre my barke and to make her in a readinesse. And during my abode in *Shamachie*, there came vnto me an Armenian sent from the King of *Georgia*, who declared the lamentable state of the same king, that being enclosed betwixt those two

Priuiledges obtained of Obdolowcan which are hereafter annexed.

An Armenian sent to Master Ienkinson fro' the King of Georgia.

[1] Alcock went to Persia with Robert Cheinie, as agents for the Russian Company, in 1563. They landed at some port in Media, probably at Jenkinson's Shabran, and proceeded thence to Shemakha, where they were well received by Abdullah Khan. Cheinie remained at Shemakha, while Alcock travelled to Kazvin to buy merchandise. Returning, he met Cheinie at Levacta (Jevat, or Djevat), a day and a half from Shemakha. Meanwhile, an ill-feeling had grown up against foreign merchants in consequence of a Muhammadan having been killed by a Russian. Perceiving this, Alcock and Cheinie hastened their departure. Cheinie set out first, and safely reached Shemakha, when, three days after his arrival, he heard that Alcock had been killed on his way thither.—*Hakl.*, p. 375.

cruell tyrants and mightie princes, the sayd great Turke and the Sophie, he had continuall warres with them, requiring for the loue of Christ and as I was a Christian that I would send him comfort by the sayd Armenian, and aduise how hee might send his Ambassadour to the sayd Emperour of Russia, and whether I thought that hee would support him or no: and with many other wordes required mee to declare his necessitie vnto the same Emperour at my returne: adding further that the sayd king would haue written vnto mee his minde, but that he doubted the safe passage of his messenger. Unto whom I did likewise answere by worde of mouth, not onely perswading him to send his Ambassadour to Russia, not doubting but that hee should finde him most honourable and inclined to helpe him, but also I directed him his way how the sayde king might send by the countrey of *Chircassi*, through the fauour of *Teneruke*[1] king of the sayd countrey, whose daughter the sayd king had lately married. And thus dismissing the sayd Armenian, within two dayes after I sent Edward Clearke[2] your seruaunt vnto the Citie of *Arrash*, where the most store of silkes is to bee had, giuing him Commission to haue passed further into the sayd countrey of *Georgia*, and there to haue repaired vnto the sayde king. And after my commendation premised, and my minde declared, to haue pursued for safeconduct of the same prince for our merchaunts to trade into his dominions, and that obtained to haue returned againe with speede. The same your seruant iourning to the sayde citie of *Arrash*, and there finding certaine merchants Armenians, which promised to goe to the sayde cittie of *Georgia*,[3] comming to the borders thereof was perceiued by a Captaine there, that he was a Christian, and thereupon demaunded whither he went, and

Teneruke, King of Chircassi.

[1] Temgruk, Ivan's father-in-law.—See *ante*, fol. 91.

[2] Edward Clark is mentioned in Edwards' letter (*Hakl.*, p. 376) as the most suitable person to represent the Company in Persia.

[3] *I.e.*, Tiflis.

vnderstanding that hee could not passe further without great suspicion, answered that hee came thither to buie silkes, and shewed the king of *Hircanes* letters which he had with him, and so returned backe againe, and the 15. of Aprill came to *Shamachie:* from whence I departed the sixteene of the same moneth, and the one and twentie thereof comming to the Sea side, and finding my barke in a readinesse, I caused your goods to bee laden, and there attended a faire wind.

The Description of Persia.

But before I proceede any further to speake of my returne, I intend with your fauours some what to treate of the countrey of Persia, of the great Sophie, and of his countrey, lawes and religion.

The chiefe cities of Persia.

This land of Persia is great and ample, deuided into many kingdomes and prouinces, as *Gillan, Corasan, Shiruan,*[1] and many others hauing diuers Cities, Townes and Castles in the same. Euery prouince hath his seuerall king, or Sultane, all in obedience to the great Sophie. The names of the chiefest Cities be these. *Teueris, Casbin, Keshan, Yesse, Meskit, Heirin, Ordowill, Shamachie, Arrash,*[2] with many others. The countrey for the most part toward the Sea side plaine and full of pasture, but into the high land, high, ful of mountaines, and sharpe. To the South it bordereth vpon *Arabia* and the East Ocean. To the North vpon the *Caspian* sea and the lands of *Tartaria.* To the East vpon the prouinces of *India,* and to the West vpon the confines of *Chaldœa, Syria,* and other the Turkes landes. All within these dominions be of the Sophies, named *Shaw Thomas,* sonne to *Ismael Sophie.* This Sophie that now raigneth, is nothing

[1] Ghilan, Khorassan, Shirvan. The first two are well-known provinces of Persia; the last now forms part of the Russian empire. From the circumstance of its being here included in Persia, it is evident that Abdullah Khan's sovereignty was merely nominal.

[2] These cities are Tabriz, Kazvin, Kashan, Yezd, Meshed, Herat, Ardebil, Shemakha and Arrash; all, with the exception of the two last, noted cities at the present day, though in a state of decay, like everything in Persia.

valiant,[1] although his power bee great, and his people martiall: and through his pusillanimitie the Turke hath much inuaded his countries, euen nigh vnto the citie of *Teueris* wherein he was woont to keepe his chiefe court. And now hauing forsaken the same, is chiefly resident at *Casbin* aforesayd, and alwayes as the sayd Turke pursueth him, hee not being able to withstand the Turke in the field, trusting rather to the mountaines for his safegard, then to his fortes and castles, hee hath caused the same to be rased within his dominions, and his ordinance to bee molten, to the intent that his enemies pursuing him, they should not strengthen themselues with the same.[2]

This prince is of the age of fiftie yeeres, and of a reasonable stature, hauing fiue children. His eldest sonne he keepeth captiue in a prison, for that hee feareth him for his valiantnesse and actiuitie: he professeth a kind of holynesse, and saith that he is descended of the blood of *Mahomet* and *Murtezallie*[3]: and although these Persians bee Mahometans, as

[1] The character of Shah Tahmasp, as drawn by Jenkinson, agrees in the main with that given by d'Alessandri (*Hakl. Soc.*, pp. 213-215), who visited his court in 1571. According to this writer, Tahmasp was sixty-four years of age (therefore fifty-six at the date of Jenkinson's visit), and had eleven sons and four daughters. His eldest son, Mohammed, surnamed Khodabundeh, *i.e.*, servant of God, father of the celebrated Shah Abbas, suffered from weak eyes, and was of a quiet disposition, living contentedly on a small domain in Khorassan. Ismail, the second son, was of an enterprising, restless character, and for this reason was kept in prison by his father.

[2] "As when the Tartar from his Russian foe
By Astracan, over the snowy plains
Retires; or Bactrian Sophie from the horns
Of Turkish crescent, leaves all waste beyond
The realm of Aladule in his retreat
To Tauris and Casbeen."

Paradise Lost, Bk. x, line 431.

[3] This family traced their descent from Ali, the son-in-law of the prophet, through Mussa, the Seventh Imam. The pedigree is given in *Travels of Venetians* (Hakl. Soc.), p. vii.

The difference of religion.

the Turkes and Tartares bee, yet honour they this false fained *Murtezallie*, saying that he was the chiefest disciple that Mahomet had, cursing and chiding daily three other disciples that Mahomet had called *Omar Vsiran* and *Abebecke*,[1] and these three did slay the sayd *Murtezallie*, for which cause and other differences of holy men and lawes, they haue had and haue with the Turkes and Tartares mortall warres. To intreat of their religion at large, being more or lesse Mahomets lawe and the Alkoran, I shall not need at this present. These persons are comely and of good complexion, proude and of good courage, esteeming themselues to bee best of all nations, both for their religion and holines, which is most erroneous, and also for all other their fashions. They be martiall, delighting in faire horses and good harnesse, soone angrie, craftie and hard people. Thus much I haue thought good to treate of this nation, and now I returne to discourse the proceeding of the rest of my voyage.

The 30. of May 1563.

My Barke being readie at the *Caspian* Sea side as afore sayd, hauing a faire winde, and committing our selues vnto God the 30. day of May, one thousand fiue hundred sixtie three, wee arriued at *Astracan*, hauing passed no lesse dangers vpon the Sea in our returne, then we sustained in our going foorth, and remayning at the said *Astracan*, vntill the tenth day of Iune, one hundred gunners being there admitted vnto me for my safegard up the riuer *Volga*, the fifteenth of Iulie I arriued at the Citie of *Cazan*, where the captaine entertained me well, and so dismissing mee, I was conducted from place to place vnto the citie of *Mosko*, where I arriued the 20. day of August 1563. in safetie, thankes be to God, with all such goods, merchandizes, and iewels, as I had prouided as well for the Emperours stocke and account, as also of yours, all which goods I was commaunded to bring into

[1] Abubekr, Omar, and Othman, the first three Khalifs cursed by the Shiahs, because they put to death Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet.—See *ante*, p. 84.

the Emperours treasurie before it was opened, which I did, and deliuered those parcels of wares, which were for his maiesties account, *videlicet*, precious stones, and wrought silkes of sundry colours and sortes, much to his highnesse contentation, and the residue belonging to you, viz., *Craskoe*, and raw silkes, with other merchandizes (as by account appeareth) were brought vnto your house, whereof part there remained, and the rest was laden in your ships lately returned.

Shortly after my comming to the *Mosko*, I came before the Emperours maiestie and presented vnto him the apparell giuen vnto me by the Sophie,[1] whose highnesse conferred with mee touching the princes affaires which he had committed to my charge, and my proceedings therein it pleased him so to accept, that they were much to his contentation, saying vnto me, I haue perceiued your good seruice, for the which I doe thanke you, and will recompence you for the same, wishing that I would trauell againe in such his other affaires, wherein he was minded to employ me: to whom I answered, that it was to my heartie reioycing that my seruice was so acceptable vnto his highnesse, acknowledging all that I had done to bee but of duetie, humblie beseeching his grace to continue his goodnesse vnto your worships, and euen at that instant I humbly requested his maiestie to vouchsafe to graunt vnto you a new priuiledge more ample than the first, which immediately was graunted,[2] and so I departed. And afterwards hauing penned a briefe note how I meant to haue the same priuiledges made, I repaired daily to the Secretarie for the perfecting of the same, and obtained it vnder his maiesties broad seale, which at my departure from thence, I deliuered vnto the custodie of Thomas Glouer your Agent there. The copie whereof and also of the other priuiledges graunted and giuen by the king of *Hircan*, I haue

New priuileges obtained hereafter following.

[1] Cf. *ante*, p. 149.

[2] There is no trace of this privilege in *Hakluyt*.

alreadie deliuered vnto you. Soiourning all the Winter at *Mosko*, and in the meane time hauing bargained with the Emperours maiestie, I sent away your seruaunt Edward Clearke hither ouerland with aduise, and also made preparation for sending agayne into Persia in meete time of the yeere. And committing the charge thereof vnto your seruants Thomas Alcocke, George Wrenne, and Richard Cheinie, the 28. of Iune last, I departed in poste from the sayd *Mosko*, and comming to *Colmogro*, and so downe to the Sea side, I found your ships laden and readie to depart, where I embarked my selfe in your good ship called the Swallow, the 9. of Iuly, one thousand fiue hundred sixtie foure, and hauing passed the Seas with great and extreme daungers of losse of shippe, goods and life, the 28. day of September last (God bee praysed) wee arriued here at Londone in safetie.

28 Sept. 1564.

Thus knowing that the couragious and valiaunt souldier which aduentureth both fame, member and life, to serue faithfully his soueraigne, esteemeth not the perils and daungers passed (the victorie once obtained) neither for his guerdon desireth anything more, then that his seruice bee well taken of him for whom he enterprised it: So I perceiuing your fauourable beneuolence to me extended in accepting my trauels in good part to your contentations, doe thinke my selfe therewith in great part recompensed: beseeching almightie God to prosper your aduentures, from time to time hereafter to be made for reaping the fruits of my trauels (at your great charges, and to my no small dangers) that ye may plentifully gather in and enjoy the same to the illustrating of the Queenes most excellent maiestie, the honour and commoditie of this her highnesse realme, and to the ample benefite and abundant enriching of you and your succession, and posterite for euer.

A copie of the priuiledges giuen by Obdolowcan, King of Hircania, to the *Companie of English merchants Aduenturers for Russia*, Persia, and Mare Caspium, with all the landes and countries adioyning to the same, obtained by M. Anthonie Ienkinson at his being there about the affaires of the sayd company, April 14. Anno 1563.[1]

WE Obdolowcan by the mightie power of God maker of heauen and of earth, appointed and now raigning king of *Shiruan* and *Hircan*, of our meere motion and great goodnes, at the earnest sute and request of our fauoured and welbeloued *Anthonie Ienkinson* Ambassadour, haue giuen and graunted vnto the right worshipfull sir *William Garret*, sir *William Chester*, sir *Thomas Lodge*, M. *Richard Mallarie*, and M. *Richard Chamberlaine*, with all their companie of merchants Aduenturers of the Citie of London in England, free libertie, safe conduct, and licence to come or send their factors in trade of merchandize into our countries, and to buy and sell with our merchants and others, either for readie money or barter, and to tarie and abide in our countrey, so long as they will, and to goe away when they list, without impediment, let or hinderance, either of bodie or goods.

And further our commandement and pleasure is, that the said English merchaunts with their company, shal pay no maner of custome for wares, which they or their factors shal buy or sel within our dominions. And if at any time our customers or other officers, or any of them, do disturbe, misuse, force or constraine the said English merchants or any of them, or their factors, to pay any maner of custome or dutie for any wares they bring in or carie out of our dominions

[1] *Hakluyt*, 1589, p. 374.

contrary to this our commandement, and the same be knowen vnto vs, then wee will that the said customers and officers shall loose and be put out of their said offices, with our further displeasure, and the said English merchants to haue restored all such mony and wares as our customers haue taken of them for our said custome. And whensoeuer the said English merchants or their factors shall bring any maner of wares meet for our treasurie, then our treasurer shal take the sayd wares into our treasurie, and shal giue vnto the said English merchaunts, either ready money or raw silkes, to the value of their said wares. And wheresoeuer this our letter of priuiledges shall be seene and read within our dominion, wee straightily will and commaund that it take effect, and be obeied in all points. Dated at our place of *Iauat*, the day and yeere aboue written, and sealed with our princely seale, and firmed by our secretarie in the 12. yeere of our raigne.

PETITION RELATING TO THE NORTH-EAST PASSAGE.[1]

ANTHONY JENKINSON TO THE QUEEN.

To the Quenes Moste Excellente Maiestie.[2]

EXPERIENCE provethe (moste gracious Soueraigne) That Naturally all Princes ar desyrous to Imploye theire study and extend theire power to advaunce theire Honnour, fame and Renowne And to Enlardge theire domynions, Kingdoms, and Terrytories, Wherfore it is not to be marveylid at, to see them eury daye ready to pruve the same; Not regardinge any costes, perylls or laboures that theireby may chaunce.

[1] Jenkinson's first efforts on his return from Persia in the autumn of 1564 were at once directed towards organising a voyage to Cathay by the north-east, a plan of discovery that had never been wholly lost sight by the merchant adventurers to Russia from the period of the accidental discovery of the coast of Moscovy by Richard Chancellor and Stephen Borough in 1553. The origin of this scheme of Cathayan enterprise is, however, to be traced to the mind of the far-sighted Sebastian Cabot, who first propounded it as an alternative and far better route, not only of the one undertaken by him or his father to the north-west in 1477-9, but also another frequently lost sight of, namely, the one specially recommended by Robert Thorn, a merchant of Bristol, in 1527, which was to take the voyagers straight across the North Pole and bring them out on the other side of the globe. The first to revive the scheme of a north-east passage to Cathay, after a lapse of twelve years, upon any practical basis or new data acquired by experience in travel, was, undoubtedly, Anthony Jenkinson in his petition to the Queen, now before us, and printed for the first time *in extenso*.

[2] Cott. MS., Galba D ix, f. 4. This, injured at the edges, has been collated with the MS. at the State Paper Office, S. P. Dom. Eliz., vol. 36; and several cancelled words are supplied from the S. P. O. MS. The date of this letter is 30 May 1565.

The Worlde knowethe that the desyer of princes hathe byn so fervent to obtayne theire desyred purposes, That they haue adventured, and provid things to mans Coniecture impossible, wiche not only they haue made very possible, But also things that seemyd very harde and dyffyculte, they haue made very facyle and easy. And this to doo, some neyther fearinge God nor respectinge naturall cyvylytie, Contrary to all righte, Equytie, humanytie and Conscyence, have not only Spoylyd, Robbed and sacked many stronge Cytties and Countreys, Neare vnto them, But also haue Disinheryted, yea and made Captyve vnto them Noble Princes, yea suche as to any mans coniecture wer nothing inferriour vnto them. Others whome the feare of God hathe kept within the bounds of reason, and yet of no lesse magnanymytie and noble Courage, then they, Haue not spared to torne[1] vp and downe the whole worlde so many tymes that the people inhabitinge the farthyest Regions of the Occidentall, haue pursued with fervent desyers, labours, perills and daungers, To penetrate and enter into the farthest Regions of the Orientall, and in lykwyse those people of the Orientall haue had no lesse laboure and desyer to enter and penetrate into the farthest partes of the Occidentall; And so followinge theire purchase[2] haue not ceased vntyll they coulde passe no further by reason of the Greate Seas wiche they thoughte to be th'end of the worlde. Now consideringe that this noble and Couragious Desyer never dyethe but lyeth hydden in the Harts of all Noble Princes attending oportunytye to manyfest it self, and knowing the same not to be wanting in your maiestie, I thoughte it therfore no lesse then my bownden dewtye to make manyfest vnto your moste Excellente maiestie myne opynyon, How your grace maye not only

[1] *Torne*, A. S., to turn.—Halliwell.

[2] O. Fr. *pourchas*, an attempt to acquire, endeavour.

> "I'll.....get meat to serve thee,
> Or lose my life in the *purchase*."—*Beau. and Fl.*

highly advaunce your most noble fame and Renowne, But also merveylously increase your domynions and Riches, God prosperinge th'enterpryse. It is an Enterpryse to discouer Certeyne Regions and Ilonds by the Northe Seas not heretofore discouerid by any prince in these partes of the worlde. Yt Semethe that three partes of the worlde are all redy discoueryd by other prynces. For owt of Spayne, they haue discouerd all the Indias and Seas Occidental And owt of Portingale, all the Seas and Indias Orientall. So that by the Orient and Occident they have compassed three partes of the vnknowen worlde. For the one of them departinge toward Th'oryent and the other towarde Th'occident met in theire travells in the Sowthe parte.[1] And of the Fowrthe parte of the worlde wiche is to the Northe youre maiesties moste famous progenitoures,[2] and your grace haue discoueryd Some pece. But the best parte thereof restithe yet vndiscoueryd which is the Famous Region of *Cathaye* and Infynyte Ilondes neare thereunto. All wiche are replenished with infynyt Treazures as Golde, Sylver, precious stones, Bawmes,[3] Spices, Drogges and gumes, For as from the Tropicks to bothe the Polles the Commodities of the earthe By labour be hemp and flax, The fruts and grayne be Apples, Nuttes, and Corne, The metalls, ledd, Tynne and coprous, The stones Christall, Jasper, &c. So From the Equinoctiall to bothe the Tropickes The Comodyties be Sylke and cotton woll, Theire fruts and Corne, Dattes, pomgranattes, all spyces, gomes, Drogges and

[1] The Spaniards, sailing through the Straits of Magellan, the Portuguese rounding the Cape of Good Hope, met at the Moluccas, the famous Spice Islands. Here misunderstandings arose between them, and it was to settle these differences that the conference was held at Badajos in 1524.

[2] Both Henry VII and Henry VIII took an interest in maritime discovery. But it was during the reign of the former of these two sovereigns that expeditions were fitted out, and commercial enterprise took a fresh start.

[3] Balms.

Ryse, The mettalls Golde, and Silver, The stones, Rubyes, Dyamants, balasis, &c. Wherefore yf it wolde please Almightye God that this Region of *Cathaye* mighte be discoueryd by your maiestie and passage fownde thyther by the northe, As theare wer no dought of the fyndinge of all these Commodyties (in greate habondanns) So theare sholde also greate Bennefyte ryse to this your maiesties realme of Englande, by the greate vent that wolde be made of all kynde of wollon commodyties made in this realme in those colde countryes Betwene the Imagyned straighte (of no dowghte to be fownde) and the said Lannd of *Cathaye*. The Navigation wolde be shorter by the Northe, then that of the *Portingalles* by the Sowthe. Thoughe we sholde travell even to the Ilonds of Spices, Callyd the *Molucus*[1] by them alredy discoueryd, by twoo thowsande Leages, which arr Six thowsande myles, And as farr distante as *Cathaye* is from those Ilonds, So moche shorter also shall owre travells be, And yet shalbe as amply furnyshed with Spyces as they are theare. Besydes Sylkes, Golde and silver and precious stones with infynyte other comodyties as I haue learned in my Travells. Nowe towchynge the danngerousnes of the Travell, and that the Northerly Seas be vnnavigable for th'extremytye of the colde (as some Cosmographers haue affyrmed) wiche indeede is very trewe, yf the dewe tymes of the yere be not obserued.[2] But as experience and practyse hathe detectid these Cosmographers of errors

[1] The Moluccas, or Spice Islands, in E. long. 126°-135°, were first discovered by Antonio Debreu, in the name of the King of Portugal, in 1512, and more fully explored in 1564.—*Cf.* Major, *Prince Henry*, 418; *Alboquerque* (Hakl. Soc.), iii, 162.

[2] This remark shows that our traveller had studied the subject carefully before addressing Her Majesty. Half the attempts to navigate these seas have failed, owing to the season chosen being too early or too late, and from an imperfect knowledge of the state of the ice. See plan of Nordenskiold's expedition, presented to the King of Sweden.—*Nordenskiold*, i, 12-33.

in theire Speculacion, For affyrmynge the partes Sowthward to be bothe inhabitable[1] and vnnavygable for th'extreamytye of the heate, so I make no dowte at all, by that smalle practyse and experyence that I haue had in those northerly Regions, but that they ar also deceyuid in this. For aswell on this syde, as beyonde the Pole twoo or three hundrethe leages, As all men of Knowlege maye consider, The Seas and landes be as temperat when the Soonne is in the northe tropicke as they be in these partes. And for the space of tenn weekes where I have Traveled there is continuall daie, The Sonne alwaies aboue our horison, And so the nearer the Pole the longer Daie, whiche is no smalle Comoditye, and Comforte to the Naviganntes. And seinge that the *Portingalles* and *Spanyardes* Haue not spared to travell vpon vnknowen Coastes, Hauing abowte the Equinoctiall, longe Nightes, We sholde haue no feare at all, But rather be Encouraged to travell and Searche for this passage, Hauinge for so longe tyme Continuall lighte of the Soonne (yf the Season be Dewly obserued), And lyke as there is varyety of Opynions Towchinge this passage owte of this oure Occian into th'east Occian, Some affirminge the same by the Northweste (Takinge there Authorytie of Certen awthors who wrote by Coniecture) which opynyon I do not wholly dissent from; So am I fully perswaded that to the Northeaste there is no dowghte of a passage to be fownde, For that like as I at my beinge in *Scythia* and *Bactria*, I divers tymes talked and Conferred with Dyvers Cathayens who wer there at that present in trade of merchanndyse Towchinge the comodyties of theire countrey, And how the Seas aborded vnto them, I Learned of them that the said Seas had theire Course to Certen northerly Regions with whom they had Traphyque by Seas. Also hauinge conferrence with th'inhabitantes

[1] *I.e.*, uninhabitable.—Nares's *Glossary*.

"Even to the frozen ridges of the Alps,
Or any other ground *inhabitable*."—*Rich. II*, act i, sc. 1.

of *Hugarye*[1] and other people of *Sameydes* and *Colmackes* whose Countreys lye very farr northerly (and nere whereunto I gesse the said passage to be) whiche people Sayle alonge the saide Coastes Fysshinge after the greate Fyshe callyed the Morse for the Benefyte of his Teathe. Of Whome I have learned that beyonde them the sayde Lande and Coastes trenche and tende to the East and to the Southwarde, And that the Corrauntes and tydes runne East Southeaste and west northweste very vehemently, whiche manifestly arguethe a passage. Further this laste yere at my beinge in Th'emperoure of *Muscovia* his Coorte, yt chaunced that there Cam thyther Certen of th'inhabitantes of the foresaid Countryes To present vnto the said Prince a certen straunge Hed with a horne therein, whiche they had fownde in the Ilonde of *Vagatts*,[2] whiche is not farre from the River of *Obbe* and the mayne land of *Hugarye*. And for that Th'emperoure neyther any of his people knewe what yt was for the straungenes thereof He commaunded that Soche straungers as wer thoughte to haue any Judgement therin shold see the same, and be asked there Opynion what they thoughte it to be. Amounge whome yt was my chaunce to be. And so was it fownde, by the reporte of them, that before had seane the lyke, To be the Hedd and horne of an Vnycorne,[3] wich is in no smalle pryce and Estymacion with the saide prynce. Then I Imagynyd with my Self from whence the said Hedd sholde Come, And knowinge that Vnycornes are Bredde in the Landes of *Cathaye*, *Chynaye* and other the Orientall Regions, fel into Consideration that

[1] Yugria, or Ugria, was the extreme north of Siberia, *ante*, p. 105.

[2] The island of Vaigats is separated from the mainland of Siberia by Yugor Shar, called "Pet Straits", after the explorer Pet. Vaigats Sound, or Yugor Shar, is the best entrance into the Kara Sea.—*Nordenskiold*, i, 172.

[3] Probably the narwhal *(Monodon monoceros)*. The male has usually a long twisted tusk projecting forward from the upper jaw like a horn, whence it is called sea unicorn or unicorn whale.

the same Hedd was Broughte thyther by the Course of the Sea, And that theire muste of necessytie be a passage owt of the sayde Orientall Occean into our Septentrionall Seas,[1] for how elles cowlde that hedd haue come to that Ilonde of *Vagatts.* Other reasons are to be Alleagid for the proffe of the said passage, wiche for feare to be Tedious, I omitt Wherefore moste gracious princes,[2] ponderinge the Aforesaide and Consideringe youre worthye Navye, Havinge nowe, God be praysed, quyetnes with alle foreyne prynces, And also men apte, skylfull, & redy, to venter thire lives in worthy attemptes, And also with what smalle charge it wilbe compassed, in Respecte of So worthy Attempte [nothing inferyoure to straungers in any respecte].[3] Yf it wold please your moste Excellent maiestie to sett forwarde this famous discouery of that Renowned *Cathaye,* And to geve order in tyme for the same, for that suche affayres may not nor cannot be don in haste. I dowte not but in Shorte tyme by the Traphyque thereof your maiestie shall growe to infynyte ryches, And be accompted therby the Famous pryncesse of the worlde, to th'encrease of your Renowne, to the Discouraginge of your Ennemyes, And to the greate wealthe of your Realme and Subiectes, Besyde the greate bennefyte by the mayntenaunce of your Navye. And to the prosecutinge hereof and full Atchyvinge of this Enterpryse Yf Yt wolde please your Highnes to ymploye me, your poore Seruante in the same, and think me worthy to take the said charge, I am, and wilbe, moste redye to serue your Maiestie as dewtye Byndethe me, and to venter my lyfe as fervente Seale movethe me, whiche yf I maye lyve to accomplysh I shall attayne the some of my Desyer, wich is and alwayes hathe bean to do servyce, bothe acceptable to your Maiestie and also bene-

[1] The preceeding paragraph is omitted in the S. P. O. MS.
[2] *I.e.*, princess. He is addressing the queen.
[3] Cancelled in the original.

ficiall to my natyve Countrye whiche God graunte, Who longe preserue your highnes with prosperous Successe in alle your Graces attemptes.

vltimo Maii 1565.

Youre Maiesties moste humble and faithfull Seruant.

ANTHONY IENKENSON.

Endorsed: vlt. Maii 1565. Jenkynson for ye discovery of ye Cathay.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO JENKINSON'S SERVICE OFF THE COAST OF SCOTLAND[1] IN THE QUEEN'S SHIP "THE AYDE".

ANTHONY JENKINSON TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD.[2]

[*Sept.* 25, 1565.][3]

RYGHT honnorable and my Singler good Lorde, pleasyth yt your honnour to vnderstande, that this day, passinge by Holly

[1] The same year, 1565, that saw Jenkinson planning the discovery of a north-east passage to Cathay, found him employed in a different way on the Queen's service. Depredations committed by English subjects on French merchantmen, and frequent complaints made thereupon by the Queen Regent, Catherine de Medicis, and her son, Charles XI (*Cal. S. P.*, For. Eliz., Nos. 1391, 1503, and 1504), led to the issue, on October 6, 1565, of a warrant under the Great Seal against, and articles for suppressing, piracy, and the equipment of vessels to apprehend these disturbers of the peace. For this service H.M. ship the *Ayde* was commissioned, and left Queenborough on the 17th September 1565, under the command of Anthony Jenkinson. His orders were not merely to stop piracy, although this was the ostensible object in view, for it appears from his correspondence that he was furnished with secret instructions.—*Cal. S. P.*, Dom. Eliz., vol. xxxvi, 74; vol. xxxvii, 47, 48.

[2] Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, born 1528, made K.B. at the coronation of Edward VI. Upon that monarch's decease, he, with others, proclaimed Lady Mary Queen of England, and took part in her husband's quarrel with France. He fought at the battle of St. Quintin, Aug. 10, 1557. Bedford was twice sent as ambassador to France by Elizabeth. In 1564 he was made Governor of the town and castle of Berwick-upon-Tweed. In the following year he treated with other commissioners for a marriage between Mary Queen of Scots and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. He was god-father to Sir Francis Drake, and guardian of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, who afterwards became his son-in-law. He died at Bedford House in the Strand, July 28, 1585, at the age of fifty-eight, and was buried at Chenies, Bucks, where there is a noble monument to his memory.—See *Anecdotes of the House of Bedford*; and Collins's *Peerage*, by Sir H. Brydges, 4th ed., i, 271.

[3] *S. P.*, For. Eliz., No. 1211; No. 1527 in *Cal.*

Iland,[1] toward the fryth, in one of the quenes Maiesties shipps called the *Ayde*,[2] about suche servyce and affayres as I suppose your honnor alredy doth vnderstande, and may perceyve by the Counseylls lettre herein closed, I have thought yt good to advertyze your Lordship of my arryvall, attendinge your further order and advyce for my further dyvertyon in all things, meaninge to lye of and on betwyxt Holy Iland and the mowth of the sayd fryth (except otherwise forced by wynd) vntill by this bearor from your lordship, I R[eceive] answer, and although yt ys the Counseylls pleasure that I shold plye to the Fryth withowt stayinge in any place, yett (savinge Correctyon) I thinke yt not best so to doo, butt raythor to keape of and on abowt the sayd Holly Iland and Barwyck, and not to be seene abowt the Fryth vntill we must needs, lest our Cumminge thyther shold be suspected for causes. Nevertheles I meane to folow Comyssyon, except other order from your honnor, and for that I knowe not whether the sayd Scottysh lords with ther provysyon be as yett in Scotland arryved, yt may please you to vnderstand the truthe by spyes or otherwise and to signifye vnto me agayn by this bearer, the Counsells Lettre inclosed within your lordships to th'end yt may be kept secrett, besechinge your honnor to sertyfye my Lords of the Counseyll of my arryvall and procedinge, meaninge by Gods grace to omytt

[1] Holy Island, ten miles S.E. of Berwick-on-Tweed.

> "Then from the coast they bore away,
> And reached the Holy Island's bay."
>
> (*Marmion*, canto ii.)

[2] In *S. P.*; Dom. Elizabeth, 1565, July 5, an estimate is returned for 100 men to serve the Queen in the ship *Ayde*, and stores for the same. This ship of 200 tons burthen was afterwards commanded by Sir M. Frobisher in his second and third voyages to Meta Incognita, in 1577 and 1578. See Collinson's *Frobisher's Voyages* (Hakl. Soc.) for "inventarie of the shyp *Ayde*" (*ib.*, p. 218). She carried 18 guns, and was commanded by Wm. Fenner, in the Armada fight of 1588.—Fox Bourne, *Eng. Seamen*, i, 137 ; ii, 217.

nothing that may be doone for the advauncement of this service accordinge to my bounden dewtye. Thus the lyvinge God have your honnor in his blessed tuicion, who prosper you in all your affayres, written in hast aborde the *Ayde* here in Barwyk rode this 25th of September 1565.

Your honnours, to commande

ANTHONY IENKYNSON.

Indorsed: To the righte honnorable and my Singuler good Lord Th'earle of Bedforde Lord Deputie of the quenes maiesties Towne and forte of Barwycke.[1] *hast hast hast.*

POSTSCRIPT.—For that wee are forced to ancre here lest wee shold be putt of from the Coste, I haue thought good to sende the master of our shipp aland to th'entent your honnor may talke with hym (yf yt be your pleasure) and to heare his advyse, wher the best place ys to attende for the apprehention of the sayd Scottyshe Lords with ther provyzyon, for he is a perfett man on these Costs whom (as yett) I have nott made priuy to the matter, nor any other, gevinge theym to vnderstande that wee cum hyther to apprehend Rovers.

THE EARL OF BEDFORD TO ANTHONY JENKINSON.[2]

[1565. *Sept.* 26.]

Whereas one Charles Wilson, Owner and master of a ship remayning about the holy Ilande, stayeth with his company and shippe aforesaid for certaine necessarie aid and Supporte to be gyven to the Lordes of the Congregacon in Scotlande, the Quenes Maiesties my mastres good frendes, and for the conveyance and transportacon hyther of the Countesse of Mur-

[1] Berwick.

[2] The copy of Bedford's letter to Jenkinson, from which this has been transcribed, is enclosed in one from Bedford to the Privy Council.—*S. P.*, For. Eliz., No. 1310; No. 1528 in *Cal.*

ray[1] now with childe and looking to be shortely therof for the wich purpose and service to be done, I haue appointed him the space of one moneth wherof there remayne yet unexpired the nombre of ten dayes: This shalbe therefore to will and commaunde you not to trouble, stay or molest the said Wilson his shipp nor company nor any of them during the tyme above written vnexpired, but to lett him and his passe quietely by you for the Service aforesaid.[2] And these my lettres shalbe your warrante and discharge in that behalfe. Geven at Barwick this xxvith of September 1565.

To Anthony Jenkinson, appointed for th'apprehension of Pirates and to his Deputes appointed in that Service in his absence.

ANTHONY IENKYNSON TO YE LL. OF YE CONCELL.[3]

[6 *of Octob.* 1565.]

RYGHT honorable and my migtie good Lordes, Pleasyth yt your honnors to vnderstande that the xxvth of the last passinge alonge this Coste toward the fryth accordinge to your order, I certyfyed my Lord th'erle of Bedford of my arryvall, pcevinge by his Lordship that th'erle of Bothwell was past and landed in Scotland ii dayes before I was redy to departe owt of quynborough water which was the xvii of the last date.[4] The

[1] Wife of the Earl of Murray, leader of the Reformed party of Scottish lords who rebelled against Mary. Murray, or Moray, was made Regent during Mary's captivity at Loch Leven, and was assassinated on the 14th February 1569-70, at the age of forty.

[2] Charles Wilson sailed under letters of marque granted by the King of Sweden. Though probably engaged in piracy, he had rendered important service on several occasions.

[3] *S. P.*, Scotland Eliz., xi, 61; No. 1562 in *Cal.*, For. Ser.

[4] Bothwell eluded pursuit and landed at Eyemouth.—Bedford to Cecil, 19th Sept. 1565. In his letter to the Queen of the same date, Bedford writes: "The English must use all the revenge they can if Bothwell (who is now two days since landed at Eyemouth) comes among the thieves of Liddesdale."—*S. P.*, For. Eliz., Nos. 1201 and 1202.

xxviii of the same, beinge at an ancre vnder the maye not far from the basse,[1] the wynde cam to theast and to the north so vehemently that wee were forced to goe with Inskyff,[2] wher wee ancred vnder the castell who shott at us. The nixt daye there cam a Trumpetor aborde sent from the kinge and quene to know the cause of my cummyng who had bene aduertysed of viii shyppes more of the quenes Maiestyes to be on the Coaste, requyrynge me also to cum aland. To whom I answered that I was sent to the seas to apprehend Rovers, and givinge Chase to a pyratt northward, by force of weather was putt thyther havinge no other cause ther to cum nether knew I of any moo shyppes of the quenes Maiestyes appoynted to the northward, and for my cummynge alande I had no affayres ther to doo nor any suche comyssyon; then sayd the messenger, the kinge and quene wyll sende to you agayne yf suche as be sent may safely retorne, which I thought good to graunte and with this answer departed; after came the Trumpetor agayne with two or three Scotyshe gentlemen and Standen with his brother whom I thought not good to staye beinge so farre within daunger and the wynde contrary, leaste I shold haue putt the quenes Maiestyes shipp in hazard and peryll dyvers ways, havinge no comyssyon so to doo. One of the Scotyshe men brought me a present, and sayd yf I had neede of victualls or any other thinge for the quenes highnes shipp I shold be furnyshed, and so they departed. Then I dowbtinge the worste that myght happen brought the shipp lowse and turned owt and cam thwart barwyck the 4th of this present, wher gevinge my Lorde gouvernor to vnderstande of my procedynge, he hath geven order for my further

[1] The Bass Rock, near the mouth of the Firth of Forth.

[2] Inchkeith, the small island in the Firth of Forth; the "castle" referred to is the fort, the remains of which were visited in 1773 by Dr. Johnson, who found there the inscription, "Maria Re, 1564."—*A Journey to the Hebrides*, in vol. ix, p. 2, of Johnson's works. Oxford, 1825.

vyctuallinge[1] for one monyth more to ende the xiith of November next. The Lorde Seaton[2] noe the munytyon beinge not yett passed I meane to folow your honnors Comyssyon for the apprehending of hym and taking of the same accordinge to my bounden dewtye. Trustynge your honours doo consyder the marvelous danger of this coste this wyntar weather and that for easte and northely wyndes wee haue no refuge but the fryth, and beinge but one shyppe and the Scottes not our freindes, we shalbe in greatt daunger from tyme to tyme. Thus comyttinge your honours to God who long preserve you. Amen.

From aborde the quenes maiesties shyppe th'*ayde* this 6th of October 1565 thwart barwyck.

Your honnors humble servant to
commaunde ANTHONY JENKYNSON.

Endorsed—To the Right honnorable and his especiall good Lordes the LL. of the quenes maiesties most honnorable privye counsell.

[1] On Oct. 6 Bedford writes to Cecil from Berwick: "... Jenkinson has been in the Firth, and what he has done there and how he was used shall appear unto him by his own letters. The man had no evil meaning, but the writer wishes he had not been there. Jenkinson is victualled here as Cecil desired." And on the 13th October Drury writes to Cecil: "Jenkinson's victuals have failed sithense his coming into this coast, which the writer has supplied."—*Cal. of S. P.*, For. Eliz., 1565, Nos. 1560, 1588.

[2] Lord Seton incurred the enmity of certain powerful Scotch lords by his quarrel with Douglas, and fled to France, where he joined Bothwell and Sutherland. He equipped and armed a vessel for the purpose of landing on the Scottish coast, but was prevented by Elizabeth. It was at Lord Seton's house that Queen Mary slept on the night of her marriage with Darnley. Randolph writes that "two worse friends to England than Earl Bothwell and Lord Seton there are not in Scotland."—*Cal. S. P.*, For. Eliz., 1044, 1280 (9), 1298, 1456 (2).

THE EARL OF BEDFORD TO THE LORDS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.[1]

[1565. *Nov.* 12.]

AND now having humbly to crave your lordshippes good favour I shall open vnto you: That moche about the tyme that Mr. Tamworthe was by the Quenes Majestie depeched into Scotland, there arryved here one Charles Wilson with a shippe well furnyshed, ryding be the holy Ilande. This Wilson was in some parte suspected to be a Pirate, and to haue spoyled eyther the Quenes Maiesties subiectes, or the subiectes of other Princes her Confederates, but vpon his offer to stande to answere that he had comitted against any suche Subiects no suche offence he was willed by me, as one at that present thought very meete for the purpose, to prepare hym selfe to lye in waite for the Erle Bothewell and other who were with armour and municons repayring towardes Scotlande out of Flanders, being knowen to be Enemyes to the Quenes Maiestie, and her Realme. His chaunce was to hytte on the Erle of Sowtherlande,[2] and mysse the Erle Bothwell, vpon significacon wherof to her Maiestie his Service was in that behalfe not misliked. And so hauing at this porte no manner shippe, crayer[3] or other vessell meete for any Service (as Captain Brickwell, among his Instructions to her Maiestie and your lordshippes, did I doubt not declare at his being

[1] *S. P.*, For. Eliz., No. 1310; No. 1668 in *Cal.*

[2] The Earl of Sutherland was uncle by marriage to Darnley, having married the Earl of Lennox's sister. He was attached to Queen Mary and the old religion, and was therefore a suspected person. He was coming from Flanders by ship when he was captured by Wilson. His health appears to have suffered during his captivity at Berwick, and Bedford writes repeatedly for orders concerning him, Mary having demanded his release. On the 7th December Elizabeth answers her, declining to set the Earl of Sutherland at liberty until the complaints of disorders on the borders are redressed.—*Cal. S. P.*, For. Eliz., 1668, 1678, 1690, 1703, 1724.

[3] Also *Cray*, a sort of small vessel.—Nares's *Glossary*.

there before you) he was thought meete (because we had none other choyse) to be employed, and therof did I bothe advertyse her Majestie and mr. Secretarie also by my lettres of the first of September. And so was I forced to employe hym, for the Service aforesaid, or for any other Event that might happen, as for Transportation to Ayemouthe if the Quenes Maiesties pleasure had so bene to have had it intercepted from the Scotts. And it was as lykely that Wilson wold elles haue gone into Scotlande to haue serued, and therefore as I saye was the raythe to be employed here because we had no boate nor other vessel to empeche[1] hym, he being seaboard. And at that tyme the troubles of Scotland began to waxe hotte, and some aide was looked for to have bene gyven to the lordes of the Realme her Maiesties frendes, wich then might best haue bene sent them by Sea, but chiefly was his Service to be employed to bring hyther the Countesse of Murray, being in great distresse for the hard shippe of her good husbande, they both looking to be dryven out of their countrey, she being greate with childe and desyereng to come hyther to be delyvered. Wilson was preparing for her transportacon when Jenkynson came hyther with a shipp of the Quenes Maiestie called the *Ayde*, having comission to apprhende pirates, and as he said himself, Wilson above all other, albeit it appered not in his comission from your lordshippes. Jenkynson wold haue taken Wilson, whom I protest to your honors I knewe not to haue comitted piracie, yet dealt I herin so with Jenkynson as that Wilson might folowe the purposed service, and he receyvd discharge for his suffring of hym so to do, wich I prouided for hym by gyving hym my writing vnder my hande and seale in such forme as by the copie enclosed appereth, and he thinking it good did bothe accept it and promisd and by his hande in myne not to deale with Wilson till this service aforesaid were ended.

The wynde served not to folowe this voyage, and I seing

[1] *Empeche*, to hinder, from the Fr. *empêcher*.

Wilsons tyme granted hym by me before Jenkinsons coming to drawe towarde an ende, and perceyving Jenkinson to be desirous to haue hym, gaue afterward to Wilson my like writing, the viiith of October for xxtie dayes more, making Jenkynson priuie therein, and I hauing sone after to go towards Carlile to see and comfort these afflicted lords of Scotland, in the meane tyme of my absence and before half his license were expired he apphended hym going towards her as farre as Donbarre in Scotlande and caryed hym away. So as the good lady hauing bene aboue fyue sondry tymes at the Fife syde with her trayne awayting for her passage sometimes viii dayes togyther, not lying one night where she laye th'other, and ryding in that case so neere her childing above vi^{xx} myles to and fro, having moste of her stuffe as plate and other things with her, wich whether the same be lost or not is not yet knowen. All which was taken in hand vpon Mr. Randolphs promys and myne. And this (I saye) wayting for her passage was after so great travaile and troubles in th'ende disappointed; wich I must needes thinke Jenkynson did raither for the hope of spoile then for any good meaning of faithefull service to her Maiestie (as his doing in the frythe can testifie) and in some parte also to despite and deface me. And wheras Jenkynson alledgeth that he wold haue done that seruice him selfe, whether could he with so great a shippe as that was haue discharged the same (for a muche lesse burden if it had bene but iii^{xx} or iiii^{xx} tunne at the most could scarcely have done it, and there fore would not I haue sent nor adventured so great a shippe therabout as this of her Maiestie was) nor yet was it ever offred to haue bene done by hym. So as I saye to your honors there was never none eyther of that Board or that had the charge vnder Her Maiestie that I haue, was ever so touched in honor and credite or so trayterously sought vpon to be defaced as that vile man did me. I trust your lordshippes haue consideration that if Authoritie be not counte-

nanced it will be neglected by all men, and sache a breache made in my credite as this is, will cause men that shall haue any dealing by waye of Authoritie vnder the Prince to refuse the same as farre as they dare, or ells to be in feare to extende it when it should do best service. I comitte my selfe, my cause and myne estimacon herin to your Lordshippes goodnes, praieng humbly the same to tender it, as shall be meetest for Her Maiesties service ..... And thus praieng for Her Maiesties most prosperous estate I humbly take my leave of your good ll. from Barwicke this xiith of November 1565.

Your Lordshipps humble at Comaundement,

F. BEDFORD.

[1] Jenkinson's subsequent service in the "Ayde" may be traced in the *State Papers*, as follows. On October 14, Sir W. Drury, Marshal of Berwick, writes to Cecil that Jenkinson has boarded Wilson's ship and hastened southwards, taking Wilson's ship with him, whereby the service that Randolph wrote for is disappointed. On the 17th of the same month, Bedford writes to Cecil that Jenkinson has gone out of these parts; on the 19th, "he desires that this disorder by Jenkinson be remembered, for a viler part could not have been played, things standing in this extremity and the lady so near her time in such danger as she is"; again, on the 8th November, "that never was any so abused by a villain as he has been by Jenkinson, of whom he means to write to the Lords" (*i.e.*, of the Privy Council). It does not appear what judgment was passed on this action of our traveller, who, in arresting Wilson, merely carried out his instructions.—*Cal. of S. P.*, For. Series, 1596, 1603, 1607, 1659.

RETURN TO the circulation desk of any
University of California Library

or to the

NORTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
Bldg. 400, Richmond Field Station
University of California
Richmond, CA 94804-4698

ALL BOOKS MAY BE RECALLED AFTER 7 DAYS

- 2-month loans may be renewed by calling (510) 642-6753
- 1-year loans may be recharged by bringing books to NRLF
- Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days prior to due date

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

AUG 16 2004

JAN 25 2007

JUN 24 2005

DEC 18 2005

DD20 6M 9-03

MAY 16 1976

LD 21A-50m-11,'62
(D3279s10)476B

G
Univer

GENERAL LIBRARY - U.C. BERKELEY

B000917168

107232

G
161
H2
v.72

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY